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Conifers:

Their Ornamental Use in Gardens
and Parkland in and around
Bowness-on-Windermere 1847–1914

JANE ROBERTS

University of Cumbria

A thesis submitted for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

February 2019

Declaration

I, Jane Roberts, hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and has not been submitted for a higher degree at any other institution.

Jane Roberts, February 2019.

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First and foremost, I would like to thank my mother, daughter Emily, brother Richard, and good friend Di, for all their help and support. I would also like to thank Dr Liz Calder for her pithy and pertinent comments on various aspects of my research; Ian and Diana Dunn for the use of their extensive library; Ben Wilson for his IT support; and the following, who were of great assistance in supplying information: Peter Elkington, Curator Rydal Mount; Brent Elliot, Librarian, RHS Lindley Library; Chris Hill of Daniel Thwaites PLC; the Kennedy family, Lindeth Fell; the management of Lindeth Howe in 2017; Sam Lumb, Tree Advisor and Woodlands, Lake District National Park Authority; Diana Matthews, for assisting on matters relating to her family, Pattinson; Margaret Owen, Archivist, and Max Clark, Archive Assistant, Cumbria Archives Service, Kendal; Deborah Walsh, Curator, The Armitage Museum; and Ben Williams, Arboriculturalist.

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Abstract

Jane Roberts, 'Conifers: Their Ornamental Use in Gardens and Parkland in and around Bowness-on-Windermere (1847–1914)'

Ph.D. thesis, February 2019

There are only three conifers that are native to Britain: *Pinus sylvestris* L. — Scots pine, *Juniperus communis* L. — juniper, and *Taxus baccata* L. — yew. Yet by the end of the nineteenth century, there were several hundred different species and numerous cultivars being grown in their thousands for ornamental purposes in gardens and parkland throughout the country and particularly in and around Bowness-on-Windermere, Cumbria. This thesis examines why this area became a Mecca for ornamental conifer planting, which species were favoured and why — by analysing their aesthetic and morphological characteristics — and how this was influenced by the introduction of new species and the development of gardens and the different designs they underwent prior to and during 1847–1914. The opinions of the day, often influenced by cultural changes such as those instigated by the picturesque and Romantic movements, are also discussed in relation to how conifers were viewed and appreciated in the wider context of the aesthetic qualities of the natural landscape of the Lake District.

From historical documents, extensive fieldwork, and detailed case studies, this thesis will show that the fashion for conifers occurred in Bowness several decades after they were fashionable elsewhere, and that this was due to a set of coincidental circumstances; that there were very diverse attitudes regarding native and introduced conifers; and that the garden designer, Thomas Mawson (1861–1933), made a significant contribution to conifer plantings in the area. It will also be shown that there is some evidence to indicate that different species were favoured, and planted in a different manner, in the various styles of gardens prevalent in Bowness during the research period.

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1. Introduction

The presence of numerous conifer species in and around Bowness-on-Windermere that date back to the Victorian and Edwardian eras is inescapable.¹ They frequently dominate the skyline, tower over buildings, and loom large in gardens and parkland throughout the area (Figure 1.1). The factors that led to their being planted in this area for ornamental purposes between 1847 and 1914 are the subject of this thesis.²



Figure 1.1 The conical crowns of conifers in Fallbarrow Park as seen from Lake Road, Bowness-on-Windermere.

This thesis has been undertaken because, despite the fact that since the 1960s, the history of gardens and gardening became a subject for academic research, with numerous papers and books being written, including on the history of plants, nothing has been written solely on the history of the ornamental use of conifers in British gardens, and certainly not those in Bowness in the Lake District.³ This thesis will redress this omission and also whether there has been a greater omission in relation to the Lake District in that the historical and cultural significance of these conifers has not been recognized, particularly in Bowness. This includes being omitted in the *Nomination Document of the English Lake District for Inscription on the UNESCO World Heritage List*.⁴ Whilst this document briefly describes the contribution made by 'Landscape

¹ 'Bowness-on-Windermere and surrounding area' is hereinafter referred to as 'Bowness'.

² Unless otherwise stated 'Planted for ornamental purposes' is hereinafter referred to as 'planted'.

³ Scant inclusion in, for example, Penelope Hobhouse, *Plants in Garden History* (London: 1992), Maggie Campbell-Culver, *The Origin of Plants* (London: 2001), Paul Edwards, *Trees and the English Landscape* (London: 1962), Miles Hadfield, *Landscape with Trees* (London: 1967), Graham Stuart Thomas, *Trees in the Landscape* (London: 1983), and articles in, *Garden History*, the Journal of the Garden History Society.

⁴ Hereinafter referred to as the *Nomination Document* (undated). World Heritage status was awarded in 2017.

Gardens and Parkland' to the cultural landscape, there is no specific mention of the contribution conifer plantings made in either of these. The only reference to trees, including conifers, was the following: 'Picturesque-style tree planting, pineta and arboreta', but pineta were a much smaller aspect of the overall contribution conifers made to the area.⁵ In addition, and unlike many Victorian buildings in Bowness that are listed by Historic England for their historical and/or architectural significance, conifers are not protected for their historical significance either by this organization or under Tree Preservation Orders.⁶ Instead, the criteria for trees to be protected are that they are necessary for public enjoyment, environmental, or aesthetic purposes, none of which fully recognize their historical significance. The fact that conifers may complement architecture in their structure (shape and colour), were planted at the same time as an area was developed, and reflect the fashionable planting of the day are not sufficient criteria for the granting of TPOs. In addition, although the purpose of TPOs is to protect and preserve trees, this does not prevent them from succumbing to disease or being felled for health and safety reasons (Figure 1.2). Nothing can preserve a tree indefinitely, and,



Figure 1.2 Priory Manor, stump of a 140-year-old *Thuja plicata* — Western red-cedar, which was planted around the same time as the house was built but which was felled in 2017 for health and safety reasons. It was replaced by a *Betula utilis* — Himalayan Birch, a species less appropriate for the period of the house.

⁵ *Nomination Document*, p. 128.

⁶ Buildings are judged for listing on their value as a 'heritage asset', that is their architectural interest, historic interest, and/or close association with significant people or events.

unlike a building that can be restored, the death of a tree is permanent. Although the presence of trees can be recorded in documents and photographs, this does not compare to their living presence. As the conifers disappear (with many having already disappeared), their historical and cultural significance is being lost together with the contribution they have made, and continue to make, to the area's 'sense of place',⁷

To fulfil this aim, the objectives of this thesis are:

firstly, to identify which species of conifer, if any, are native to Britain (and were therefore readily available for planting in gardens) and to assess what the environmental conditions are in the Lake District to have enabled conifers to grow successfully;

secondly, to examine the historical development of the use of conifers in relation to the development of gardens in Britain, and in particular in Bowness, before the Victorian era. This will not only give a context for the planting of conifers that occurred in Bowness but also enable a comparison to be made as to whether gardens in this area underwent the same development as in other parts of the country. Within this objective, an evaluation will be made as to whether the picturesque and Romantic movements contributed to the manner in which conifers were viewed aesthetically, both as individual specimens and in the context of the Lake District's landscape, noting in particular the opinions of the time and whether conifers were universally admired;

thirdly, to establish whether the heyday for conifers was in the Victorian era and, if so, whether it also occurred in Bowness at the same time and in the same manner as other areas of the country. In addition, an examination will be undertaken to ascertain whether the changes in garden design that occurred in the latter period of this research, the 1880s to 1914, influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement, altered the choice of conifer species and the manner of their planting in Bowness. In relation to the latter, the planting recommendations and garden designs of Thomas Mawson (1861–1933), 'one of the most sought-after garden and landscape designers of the late 19th/early 20th centuries', will be assessed to determine whether he was a sought-after designer in

⁷ See Ian Thompson, 'Gardens, Parks and Sense of Place' in *Making Sense of Place — Multidisciplinary Perspectives*, ed. by Ian Convery, Gerard Corsane and Peter Davis (Woodbridge: 2012) pp. 159–76.

Bowness and whether as such he made a significant contribution to the ornamental conifer plantings in Bowness;⁸

fourthly, to examine the aesthetic characteristics that made certain species of conifer popular for planting and whether these conifers were also planted in Bowness; and **fifthly** to examine, as case studies, the manner in which individual conifer species were planted in specific gardens in Bowness — the latter being of different times and of different designs in the period of research. A comparison and assessment will then be made as to whether differences are apparent in the coniferous plantings.

Whilst there is a wealth of scholarly material on the history of gardens either generally or specifically relating to a particular garden, and which include data obtained from fieldwork, rarely, if ever, is a detailed record of conifer species included.⁹ In addition, and unlike other groups of plants that have been written about, including *The Tulip* by Anna Pavord, *The Rose* by Jennifer Potter, and the *Tales of the Rose Tree* by Jane Brown,¹⁰ there are no such works on conifers. Conifers are rarely mentioned in contemporary garden histories, and if they are, it is of a general nature and often inaccurately, with Scots pine being frequently referred to as 'Scotch fir'.¹¹ On occasions, information on conifers is included in a study of a particular garden, but these are usually topic-specific, with no discussion on the historical use of conifers or their use in a wider context in gardens in the rest of the country.¹² Conversely, conifers have been listed copiously in numerous non-academic reports by tree surgeons and arboriculturists, but such reports do not include an historical context for the trees they list. This is primarily because their remit is solely for the health and safety aspects of the trees.¹³ Even in more substantial reports such as the 'Historic Landscape Survey' of the grounds of St. Catherine's, Windermere, by Oxford Archaeological North, carried out for the National Trust, the extant conifers are only listed in

⁸ *Nomination Document*, p. 132.

⁹ 'The Garden History Society' is a registered charity founded in 1966 to protect and to study historic gardens. Members voluntarily record and evaluate historic gardens, but few have the necessary skill to identify conifers in the field.

¹⁰ Anna Pavord, *The Tulip* (London: 1999), Jane Brown, *Tales of the Rose Tree, Ravishing Rhododendrons and Their Travels Around the World* (London: 2004), Jennifer Potter, *The Rose* (London: 2010),

¹¹ Many name changes occurred during the period of research, and subsequently there was, and still is, a considerable amount of confusion regarding Latin and English names; this thesis seeks to give clarity in such cases.

¹² Two examples are by Michael Symes, 'Charles Hamilton's Plantings at Painshill', *Garden History*, Vol. 11, No 2 (Autumn, 1983), pp. 112–24, and 'A.B. Lambert and the Conifers at Painshill', *Garden History*, Vol. 16, No 1 (Spring, 1988), pp. 24–40. In the latter, a list of the conifers in the garden was compiled by John Harvey and appears in the Appendix to the article.

¹³ *Tree Report for Priory Manor, Windermere* (2014) by Luke Steer, Tree Consultant, Treescapes Consultancy Ltd.

English, causing some ambiguity, and with no accompanying historical context.¹⁴

As there is therefore no peer-reviewed work in which the research approach is appropriate for this thesis, reliance will be placed instead on the following multifaceted approach (which may vary according to the objective being pursued and may involve one or a combination of the following): an examination of historical archival documents and/or contemporary literature; extensive fieldwork to identify extant conifers in situ; and a visual analysis of conifers depicted in historical paintings, illustrations, and photographs. The latter will be able to be undertaken owing to pre-existing identification skills and knowledge of conifer species, their morphology, and nomenclature. Without this multifaceted approach, it would not be possible to identify the conifer species that were planted or place them in an historical context relating to the development of gardens in the country, and specifically in Bowness.

To ascertain which conifers are native to Britain, their distribution, and the suitability of environmental conditions, the standard reference works on the native flora of Britain and the Lake District will be consulted.¹⁵ Once these have been established, any other conifers mentioned in historical documents or contemporary texts will be known to be exotic species. Knowing which species are native will also enable an evaluation to be made of their contribution to ornamental conifer plantings both prior to and during the period of research.

For the second objective, an examination of both contemporary garden history books and articles, primarily those dating from the 1980s, in conjunction with historical archival material will be undertaken with regard to obtaining information on the choice and use of conifers prior to the Victorian era. In addition, conifers depicted in paintings, engravings, and illustrations of the time will be analysed, and the influence of the picturesque and Romantic movements will be investigated, particularly with reference to opinions of the time, most notably those of the Rev. William Gilpin (1724–1804) and the poet William Wordsworth (1770–1850). An analysis of this material should reveal which species were planted and in what manner, and whether they were

¹⁴ Oxford Archaeological North (previously the University of Lancaster's Archaeological Unit) is part of Oxford Archaeological Ltd an independent archaeology and heritage practice. Their report lists a 'Giant Sequoia', which in England is more commonly referred to as Wellingtonia.

¹⁵ Including: C.D., Preston, D.A. Pearman, T.D. Dines, *New Atlas of the British and Irish Flora* (Oxford: 2002) Clive Stace, *The New Flora of the British Isles*, 3rd edn (Cambridge: 2010); Geoffrey Halliday, *A Flora of Cumbria* (Manchester: 1997)

used in similar ways in gardens of different periods and styles. Positive or negative attitudes towards the planting of conifers and particular species should also be revealed from this method.

To discover which conifers were planted in Bowness, contemporary and historical archival material, in conjunction with extensive fieldwork, will be undertaken, and from those recorded an analysis will be made as to whether it was a large number of the same species or a smaller number but of a more diverse range. The data collected from fieldwork should also indicate the extent of the conifer species planted and whether different species were planted at the beginning of the research period compared with during the latter half. An investigation into the conifer plantings in gardens designed by Mawson will also be undertaken by using historical archives and fieldwork to reveal the conifers he favoured and the extent to which they were planted in the gardens he designed.¹⁶

Information on the aesthetic characteristics of conifers and the manner in which they were recommended for planting will be extrapolated from historical archives. Obtaining these is critical, as they may reveal very different opinions from those held in earlier periods, and will therefore enable comparisons to be made. They may also indicate why certain species were favoured over others and were therefore planted in greater numbers in gardens, including those in Bowness. Fieldwork will be undertaken in conjunction with analysing historical photographs and illustrations, as they may reveal the presence of conifers that are no longer extant. The information obtained will form part of the subject matter for the case studies.

Case studies will be chosen after a preliminary assessment is made as to a garden's suitability and research potential. This will involve a visual analysis of Ordnance Survey maps of 1858 and 1909 combined with information from the censuses of 1881 and 1911. From these, an indication will be obtained of properties that merit further examination.¹⁷ After this, fieldwork will be undertaken to ascertain, firstly, whether these gardens still exist and, if so, how they have altered, secondly, which conifers they include, and thirdly, if access to the garden can be

¹⁶ The substantial archives for Mawson are held at Cumbria Archive Services, Kendal. Hereinafter referred to as CASK.

¹⁷ A census, c. 1900, reveals the size of a household by listing all the people currently residing in the property; the more servants present indicating a wealthy household and substantial property. The size of a garden can be inferred from the number of gardeners listed — the larger the number indicating a substantial garden. The presence of a garden can then be verified from an Ordnance Survey map as these do include gardens.

gained. If these are all in the affirmative, enquiries will then be made to assess whether adequate historical archives of the property exist.¹⁸ These should include as much information as possible, including when the house was built and the garden created, the owners and their status, and subsequent owners, who designed the gardens and planting plans. As to whether a property's garden merits inclusion as a case study will then be based on how well all the above criteria are fulfilled.

Once a garden has been decided on (the reasons for its choice will be discussed in the Introduction to the Case Studies, Section 11), a survey will be undertaken to record the following information: firstly, the conifer species or cultivars that are present and their approximate age; secondly, the manner in which they have been used ornamentally, for example, singly, as a specimen, or in a group; thirdly, whether the species are appropriate to the age and style of the house and garden (historical archives will be used to establish this); fourthly, the impact of their presence in the garden today compared with when they were younger and smaller, and fifthly, their condition, for example, whether dying or in poor or robust health. This often influences opinions regarding conifers, as the state of a tree's health can either enhance or diminish not only its own aesthetics but also the environment in which it grows. An assessment will also be made as to the changes that have occurred in the garden that will have impacted on the original conifer planting and the likelihood that many have since died or been removed.

This thesis may reveal the following: firstly, that the use of conifers in Bowness was intrinsically linked to the history of gardens in England; secondly, that this was a combination of circumstances that made Bowness unique in the number of conifers planted for the period 1847–1914; thirdly, that many different species of conifer were planted and in very substantial numbers; fourthly, that the species that were planted in later gardens of the period of research (from the 1880s) were different from those planted prior to this decade; fifthly, that the creation of these gardens occurred at a time when the majority of introduced conifers were already well established and fashionable in the country; sixthly, that Mawson was a 'sought-after' garden designer in Bowness and as such not only had a monopoly on garden design at the time but

¹⁸ Primarily at CASK.

also was directly or indirectly responsible for numerous conifers being planted; and seventhly, that conifers contributed to, or even altered, the area's 'sense of place'.

For the purposes of this thesis, the area referred to as the 'Lake District' is the area known today as the Lake District National Park,¹⁹ and the area of research is delineated in red on the Ordnance Survey map (Figure 1.3). Where reference is made to 'country', then unless otherwise stated, this refers to England.



Figure 1.3 Ordnance Survey Map. Crown Copyright 1997. Area of research delineated in red.

¹⁹ According to Sacko Yoshikawa, in *William Wordsworth and the Invention of Tourism 1820–1920* (London & New York: 2014), the term 'Lake District' came into use in the 1830s and was first used by William Ford in the title to his book, *A Description of the Scenery in the Lake District* (1839), p. 4. Prior to this time, the area had been variously referred to, including: 'Lakes of Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire' and 'Lakes of the North of England'.

2. Native species of conifer: Their morphological characteristics and favourable environmental conditions

2.1. Introduction

Three prerequisites are necessary for growing conifers for ornamental purposes in gardens: firstly, their availability to gardeners, usually by way of seed, seedling, or sapling; secondly, favourable growing conditions; and thirdly, gardens created purely for aesthetic reasons. The first and second of these prerequisites are examined in this section, and the third in subsequent sections. Prior to the introduction of any exotic species, those that were the most readily available were native species.²⁰ This section therefore examines which conifer species are native to Britain, and their morphological characteristics, natural distribution, adaptability, and suitability for gardens, together with the opinions of the time of the period of this research. The environmental conditions, particularly those in the Lake District, that are required to enable these, and then subsequently exotic conifers, to be grown successfully are also discussed.

2.2. Native conifers

Compared with the number of flowering plants in the world — estimated to be between 350,000 and 400,000 species — the number of conifer species is very small, about 546.²¹ Despite this low number, conifers are 'found on all six continents that support trees (but not Antarctica), on most large continental islands (except those of the high arctic), and on a surprising number of oceanic islands'.²² Their distribution is, however, very uneven, with Asia having the richest conifer flora, and Africa, South America, and Europe having the poorest. In Britain, out of a native population of approximately 1446 higher species, just three are conifers.²³ These are: *Taxus baccata* L. — yew;²⁴ *Pinus sylvestris* L. — Scots pine; and *Juniperus communis* L. — juniper.

²⁰ A plant species is considered to be native if it was already established in Britain prior to the land bridge to the rest of Europe being flooded approximately 8000 years ago. In botanical terms, exotic plants are those that have been intentionally introduced from other countries. These are also frequently referred to as 'introduced' species.

²¹ A definitive number is not possible because some taxonomists often split very similar plants into different species, whilst others classify them as the same or as a subspecies. Such taxonomists are known respectively as the 'splitters' or 'lumpers' of the taxonomic world. For up-to-date accepted nomenclature and classification on plants, refer to 'Kew Plants of the World Online'.

²² James E. Eckenwalder, *Conifers of the World — The Complete Reference* (Portland and London: 2009), p. 29. For their range in elevation, see p. 31.

²³ Of which about 1396 are flowering plants, which include approximately fifty trees. For native trees and shrubs refer to Clive Stace, *New Flora of the British Isles*, 3rd edn. (Cambridge: 2010).

²⁴ Taxonomically, yews were once separated from conifers, being in the order Taxales, but are now included in the order Pinales.

2.2.1. *Taxus baccata* L. — Yew

This conifer is evergreen, with dark green linear leaves, and has been described as 'a large bush or spreading tree to 28m, often with multiple trunks'.²⁵ The natural range of this tree in



Figure 2.1 This yew, in the former garden of Ellerthwaite (now Windermere Library) (2018), displays the natural shape of the crown of yews which are often as broad as high.

Britain is uncertain, but it is noted for favouring well-drained limestone areas such as Boxhill in Surrey. In addition, it also occurs locally on acid sandstone. In the Lake District, the tree has been recorded throughout the area,²⁶ with the majority being recorded in South Lakeland.²⁷ Whether these trees are naturally occurring or were planted is not, however, made clear. Just as elsewhere in the country, many were planted, particularly in churchyards, an example of the

²⁵ Stace, *New Flora* (2010), p. 50.

²⁶ Where plants have been recorded in Britain are depicted in maps published in the *New Atlas of the British and Irish Flora*, ed. by C. D. Preston, *et al.* (2002), p. 92, and specifically in the Lake District in, *A Flora* by Halliday (1997). As the latter is more detailed and specific to the Lake District, this is the reference used here.

²⁷ Halliday, *A Flora* (1997), map 57, p. 115.

latter being in St. Oswald's churchyard, Grasmere, where several yews were planted by William Wordsworth.²⁸ As a consequence, this tree and *Taxus baccata* 'Fastigiata' (Irish yew) are considered to be the archetypal churchyard trees.²⁹ Yews have also been associated with pre-Christian pagan religions, an association that is not universally accepted with the landscape historian, Oliver Rackham (1939–2015), who disputed such a connection.³⁰ A considerable amount of myth and folklore is also attached to the species, and many individuals were, and still are, revered for their age.³¹ Age, and the morphological consequences of it, was a feature particularly noticed by Wordsworth and which he commented on in his poem 'Yew Trees', composed in 1803. This poem was inspired by the yews he saw growing in Lorton Vale and Borrowdale:³²

There is a Yew-tree, pride of Lorton Vale,
[...]
Of vast circumference and gloom profound
This solitary Tree! — a living thing
Produced too slowly ever to decay;
Of form and aspect too magnificent
To be destroyed. But worthier still of note
Are those fraternal Four of Borrowdale,
Joined in one solemn and capacious grove;
Huge trunks! — and each particular trunk a growth
Of intertwined fibres serpentine
Up coiling and inveterately convolved,
[...].³³

As is evident from this poem, Wordsworth had observed the morphological characteristics of

²⁸ Where Wordsworth and his family are buried.

²⁹ *Taxus baccata* 'Fastigiata' was first discovered growing in the grounds of Florence Court, County Fermanagh, Northern Ireland, in 1778.

³⁰ For opinions on this, see Oliver Rackham, *The History of the Countryside; The Classic History of Britain's Landscape, Flora and Fauna* (London: 1986), 1993 edn, pp. 229–30. Trevor Baxter, *The Eternal Yew* (Hanley Swan: 1992) and Robert Bevan-Jones, *The Ancient Yew — A History of Taxus baccata* (London: 2002).

³¹ Perhaps the most notable and ancient Lake District yews are those referred to by Wordsworth as the 'fraternal Four of Borrowdale', in his poem 'Yew Trees' (1803).

³² See Edward Parker and Brian Muelaner, *Ancient Trees of the National Trust* (Swindon: 2016), for a description, see pp. 29–32.

³³ William Wordsworth *Yew Trees*, composed 1803, published 1815, lines 1, & 9–18.

these trees, including their size, and their huge trunks displaying an 'intertwisted' fibrous bark. In an engraving by T. H. Fielding of a yew at Bleham Tarn, this characteristic is clearly depicted (Figure 2.2). In addition, Wordsworth's poem (not quoted) also conveys how yews embodied a certain pride — linked to English History and the successful use of longbows in famous battles — a quality that no other conifer (native or introduced) in this country possessed.³⁴



**Figure 2.2 'Yew Tree at Bleham Tarn' engraving by T. E. Fielding.³⁵
Massive, old, and rugged — all qualities admired at the time.**

It should, however, be noted that because of their strong association with churchyards yews were also considered mournful. The Lakeland artist William Green (1760–1823) observed that in St. Oswald's churchyard, 'some charitable stranger has lately added the mournful yew, a tree sacred to such situations'.³⁶ That charitable stranger was Wordsworth.

As a consequence of yew being a native species, it has had a long connection not only with religious activities but also with gardening. This was noted in one of the foremost books on conifers in the Victorian era, James A. Veitch & Sons', *A Manual of the Coniferae*, which stated:

The association of the Yew with gardening in England began early in the sixteenth century. It was

³⁴ Robert Hardy cast doubt on their use in such battles with the superior wood from Italian yews being preferred for making English longbows. *Longbows, A Social and Military History* (London: 1976).

³⁵ T. H. Fielding, *Cumberland, Westmoreland and Lancashire Illustrated in A Series of Forty-four Engravings Exhibiting the Scenery of the Lakes, Antiquities and other Picturesque Objects* (London: 1822).

³⁶ William Green, *Guide Book*, vol. I, p. 409. As quoted in: M.E. Burkett and J.D.G. Sloss, *William Green of Ambleside, A Lake District Artist (1760–1823)* (Kendal: 1984), p. 82.

brought into prominent notice towards the end of the century by Evelyn, who claims the 'merit' of being the first to introduce the fashion of clipping it into artificial shapes, which became general during the next century. It was first used in the formation of hedges for purposes of utility, but the dense growth it assumes when pruned, its apparently unlimited duration, and the readiness with which it may be cut into many shapes without impairing its vitality, soon led to its being extensively used in topiary works, which had been previously confined chiefly to the box and juniper.³⁷

It is yew's ability to withstand regular trimming that makes it suitable for such purposes as hedges and topiary, a quality still admired today.³⁸ As a consequence, it has been described as 'of great garden value and given good drainage [...] tolerant of most soils and situations'.³⁹

After formal gardens were replaced by more naturalistic landscape gardens, yews still continued to be used but were left unclipped, with their natural shape being allowed to develop unhindered. However, their formal use saw a revival in the Victorian era both in Italianate gardens and in the new designs such as those referred to in more recent times as being Arts and Crafts in style. The garden and landscape designer Thomas Mawson, who many contemporary authors describe as designing gardens in this style, could not speak highly enough of this tree, both for its aesthetic qualities and for its usefulness in gardens. He argued that, 'the yew is of all evergreens at once the most English and the most beautiful in character; serviceable alike for almost every purpose for which trees are required'.

Yews are to be found throughout the study area, but those of note include yews at Langdale Chase Hotel, Fallbarrow Hall, the public garden next to Windermere Library, and several gardens on the Storrs estate.

2.2.2. *Pinus sylvestris* L. — Scots Pine

This evergreen conifer can grow to 36 m, with older specimens having an irregular crown with varied branching, from heavy and irregular to spindly and sparse. The trunk is coloured orange-red towards the top, and the needle like leaves are borne in groups of two (depending on the species, pines can have their needles grouped in twos, threes, or fives).

³⁷ James A. Veitch & Sons, *A Manual of the Coniferae* (1881), p. 299. There are two editions of this book, the first by published in 1881 and the second in 1900, with 'A New and Greatly Enlarged Edition' by Adolphus H. Kent. Both books are hereinafter referred to as *Veitch's* with the appropriate date.

³⁸ Hillier, *The Gardener's Guide to Trees & Shrubs*, ed. by John Kelly, consultant ed., John Hillier (Newton Abbot: 2004).

³⁹ *Ibid.*

Scots pine has had a chequered and not very successful history in Britain, as Rackham has commented: 'Soon after the last ice age, pine entered England and spread northwards, becoming the dominant tree over most of the landscape in succession to birch. In England and south Scotland it was then displaced by oak and other trees leaving relics (to die out much later) in the Lake District, the Fens and Ireland'.⁴⁰ Today, native trees are often distinguished as *ssp. scotica*. These are only found naturally occurring in the Highlands of Scotland and sporadically further south to central Perth.⁴¹ The former are growing in the remnants of the once large area of the Caledonian Forest (Figure 2.3, coloured pink) and constitute the only temperate coniferous rainforest in Britain.⁴² The quality of this Caledonian forest was

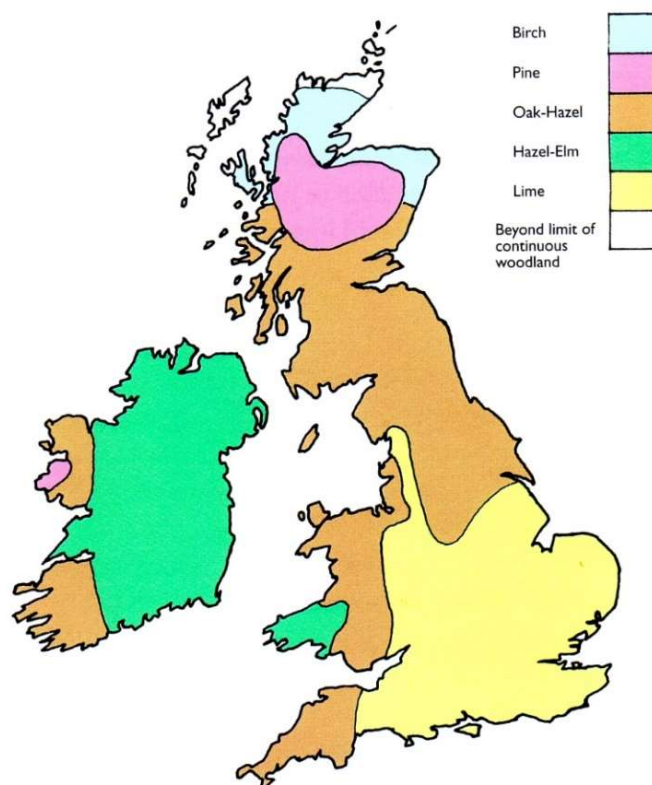


Figure 2.3 Wildwood Provinces for the Atlantic Period 6500 BP,⁴³ including the ancient Caledonian pine forest (pink) and the species that were dominant in other areas at this time.⁴⁴

⁴⁰ Oliver Rackham considered most of those that have been planted in the rest of the country are introductions from Europe. See *Woodlands, The New Naturalist Library* (London: 2006), p. 389.

⁴¹ Stace (2010), p. 49.

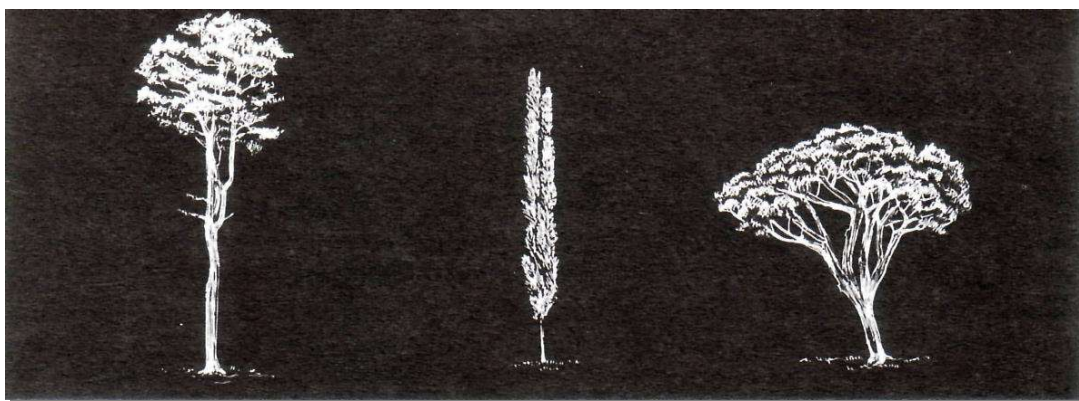
⁴² Rackham, *Woodlands* (2006), Ch. 16, pp. 388–408.

⁴³ Diagram from Rackham, *Woodlands* (2006), p. 84. Rackham was the first to use the term 'Wildwood', which he stated was 'to describe prehistoric forests, before the coming of civilisation'. *Trees and Woodland in the British Landscape*, First published 1976, rev. edn (London: 1996), p. 27.

⁴⁴ Keith Alexander, Mike Allen, Jill Butler, Ted Green and Ray Woods, 'Britain's natural landscapes — promoting improved understanding of the nature of post-glacial vegetation of lowland Britain' *British Wildlife*, Vol. 29, No. 5 (June, 2018), pp. 330–38, for a detailed account on these species.

commented on by the Rev. C.A. Johns, who noted at the time that 'extensive and most magnificent forests of pine still exist in Scotland, exhibiting a character which belongs to no British forests composed of other trees'.⁴⁵ But *Veitch's Manual* noted that 'forests of indigenous firs [Scots pine] are at the present time few and far between [with] the chief remaining ones [being] found above the heads of the valleys of the Dee in Aberdeenshire and of the Spey in Inverness-shire'.⁴⁶ Elsewhere, non-native introductions have been planted, often in considerable numbers, both for timber and, to a lesser extent, for ornamental purposes. In the Lake District today, this tree is common and occurs 'on virtually all soil types, from lowland mosses to limestone pavement', and although many have been planted, Geoffrey Halliday, the author of *A Flora of Cumbria* (1997), considers they look 'thoroughly native, as for example, on the picturesque rocky knolls between Ambleside and Rydal'.⁴⁷

In addition to the species, a number of cultivars that nurserymen have bred often show extreme variations. This is evident in *P. sylvestris* 'Fastigiata' (nursery origin, 1856), which in habit is very unlike the type having an extremely narrow crown (Figure 2.4). As this type of growth takes up a relatively small amount of space, smaller gardens can accommodate fastigate trees.



**Figure 2.4 The very obvious different morphological characteristics of:
left: *Pinus sylvestris* — Scots pine; centre: *P. sylvestris* 'Fastigiata'; right: *Pinus pinea* — stone pine.
With their narrow crowns, fastigate trees can be accommodated in smaller gardens.**

Variations in colour also occur with *P. sylvestris* 'Aurea' (date of introduction unknown) being a golden-coloured cultivar. This was described in *Veitch's Manual* as being: 'the most useful' of

⁴⁵ Rev. C.A. Johns, *The Forest Trees of Britain*, ed. by G. S. Boulger (London: 1912), p. 365.

⁴⁶ *Veitch's* (1900), p. 381.

⁴⁷ Halliday (1997), p. 113. For their distribution, refer to map 54, p. 112.

the available garden cultivars.⁴⁸ In addition to these cultivars, dwarf forms were also bred and proved to be more popular than the species for growing in gardens owing to their smaller size. These included *P. sylvestris* 'Pygmae' and 'Nana'.⁴⁹

In addition to the differences of morphological characteristics of cultivars, there are also noticeable differences between *P. sylvestris* and its subspecies *scotica*.⁵⁰ The latter is a much more robust tree, with larger branching and a more substantial canopy, whereas those that have been planted in England, derived from continental stock, are much less robust with less heavy canopies and branches. Wordsworth was aware of these differences and, when planting Scots pine in his garden at Rydal Mount, obtained specimens from a Scottish Nursery (referred to as Elgin and Forres nurseries). The owners of this nursery, Messrs. Grigor, were described as being 'The individuals who have most distinguished themselves in the work of rearing this pine, [and that] there are more plants of this variety grown and disposed of, [in this nursery] than are to be found throughout the rest of that country'.⁵¹ Wordsworth wrote to the proprietor of this nursery, John Grigor, commenting:

You were quite right in inferring that the fir tree [Scots pine] was a favourite tree with me, indeed, as perhaps I have told you before, I prefer it to all other except oak, taking into consideration its beauty in winter, and by moonlight, and in the evening.⁵²

There also appears to have been a certain amount of romanticism attached to this subspecies, as is demonstrated in an illustration depicting the tree together with a classical archway in the landscape. The inclusion of this feature perhaps stemmed from a desire to stress the ancient and noble characteristics of this species, although it could also hark back to when they were planted in England in eighteenth-century classical Arcadian landscape gardens. The tree was also described as having 'an air of grandeur and antiquity — a solemn and solitary beauty — [...]

⁴⁸ Veitch's (1900), p. 380.

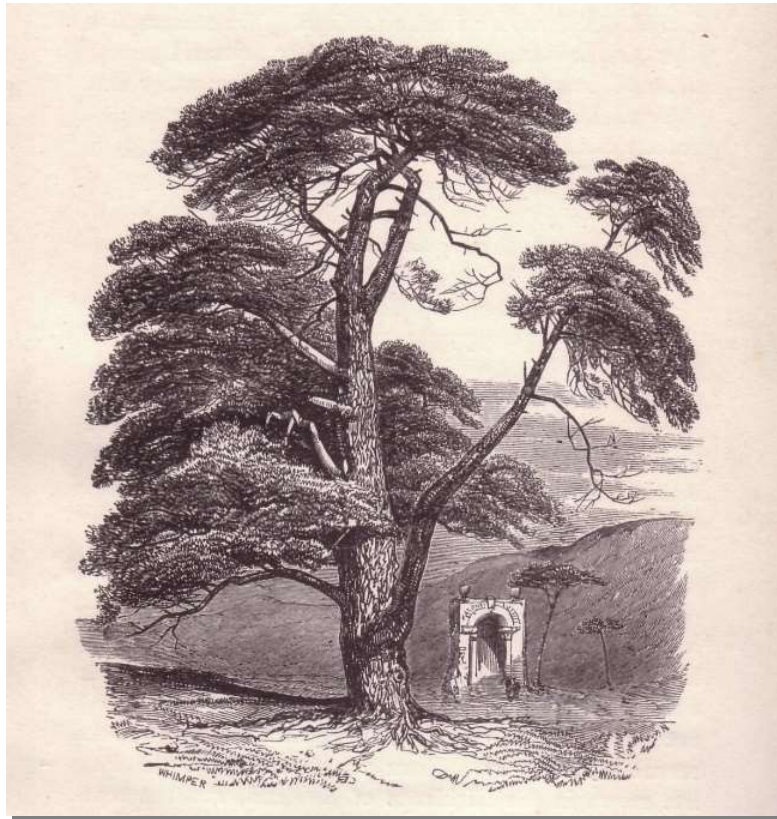
⁴⁹ For garden cultivars of the period, see Veitch's *Manual* (1900), p. 380.

⁵⁰ Stace (2010), p. 49.

⁵¹ James Grigor, *The Eastern Arboretum, Or, Register of Remarkable Trees in the County of Norfolk* (Norwich: 1841), pp. 64–65. It is not currently known if he was a relation to John Grigor. The nursery may also have been known as T. & W. Christie.

⁵² Letter, William Wordsworth to John Grigor, dated 20 February 1845, reprinted in the nursery's book, *Arboriculture* (1868). Also included in, Ernest de Sélincourt, ed., *The Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth*, VII 'The Later Years', Part IV 1840–1813. ed. by Alan G. Hill (Oxford: 1988), p. 661. Here the recipient is stated as unknown.

that renders it perhaps the most picturesque of any of the cone-bearing tribe' (Figure 2.5).⁵³



**Figure 2.5 'The Scotch fir' together with a Classical archway (1912).
The inclusion perhaps stemmed from a desire to promote the ancient and noble qualities
of the tree or its association with the English Classical Arcadian gardens of the eighteenth century.**

Whilst *Veitch's Manual* stated this species was 'one of the most useful of all Pines',⁵⁴ it is not particularly suitable for either hedging or topiary, as it does not tolerate being trimmed particularly into old wood. It is also only where space allows that it can be planted as a specimen. Mawson had little to say about this pine, only cursorily describing it together with *Pinus nigra* and *P. cembra*, and this was despite his stating the varieties 'are legion'.⁵⁵ The horticulturalist and prolific garden author William Robinson (1838–1935) had a little more to say, commenting: 'the Scotch Pine [...] our native Pine, [is] one of the most beautiful of pines particularly when old'.⁵⁶

Although the desirable qualities of a particular pine species were undoubtedly taken into

⁵³ Rev. C.A. Johns, *The Forest Trees of Britain*, ed. By G.S. Boulger (London: 1912) p. 366.

⁵⁴ *Veitch's* (1881), p. 156.

⁵⁵ Mawson, Thomas H., *The Art and Craft of Garden Making*, 2nd edn (London: 1901), p. 147 & 148. Hereinafter referred to as, *The Art and Craft*.

⁵⁶ William Robinson, *Flora and Sylva* (London: 1903), p. 51.

account when one was chosen for a garden, these were not the only deciding factor.

Hardiness was particularly necessary as in a species, as ultimately this determined whether or not a particular species could be grown successfully in the country, including in the Lake District.

Unlike Scots pine, a number of exotic species, such as *P. halepensis* — Aleppo pine, and *P. pinea* — stone pine, were noted for not being hardy everywhere.⁵⁷ The latter in particular only does well in the warmer, more sheltered conditions such as are prevalent in the south-west of the country.

2.2.3. *Juniperus communis* L. — Common Juniper

There are three subspecies of this evergreen tree (more usually a shrub), with the most obvious difference between them being their shape, with ssp. *communis* being a 'spreading to erect tree', ssp. *hemisphaerica* a 'low compact shrub', and ssp. *nana* a 'procumbent matted shrub'.⁵⁸ They all have awl-shaped prickly leaves that are arranged in whorls of three, but their juvenile leaves frequently differ from those that are mature.⁵⁹

Their distribution is as follows: ssp. *communis* is very local throughout much of Britain and Ireland, on both limestone and acid soils, but is absent from most of south-west, central, and east England; ssp. *hemisphaerica* is confined to the maritime low cliffs in Cornwall; and ssp. *nana* occurs in north-west Wales, north-west England, western and northern Ireland, and central and north-west Scotland on rocks and moorland, mostly in upland areas.⁶⁰ According to Halliday, junipers are 'widespread in the Lake District and south Westmorland and probably as frequent here as anywhere in England. Elsewhere in the county it is extremely rare'.⁶¹ Many are currently being planted in the Lake District and are particularly evident along the embankments and verges of the A590 and A591 roads.

As a native species, juniper has had, like yew, a long association with gardens. However, unlike yew, it can only withstand light trimming, and it is therefore not considered suitable for hedges or topiary like yew. It was also quickly replaced for growing in gardens by other

⁵⁷ Stone pines were introduced before 1548, making the species one of the first exotic pines to have been introduced into England.

⁵⁸ Stace (2010), p. 55. According to Stace, there are frequent intermediates between ssp. *communis* and the other two subspecies.

⁵⁹ Hillier (2004), p. 360.

⁶⁰ Stace, pp. 54–55.

⁶¹ Halliday (1997), p. 114. For their distribution, refer to maps 55 and 56, p. 115.

introduced *Juniperus* species (there are about seventy-six accepted species of juniper worldwide⁶²). The variations in their habit were also utilized by plant breeders who subsequently bred many cultivars with different sizes, shapes, and colours.⁶³ Mawson commented on this variety, stating: 'There are few families of evergreen trees or shrubs which include so many diverse forms as does juniper'.⁶⁴ Also, in the plant's favour, as with all junipers, is that it can grow in more alkaline soils, making it one of the most suitable conifers for growing in gardens with calcareous soils.⁶⁵

2.3. Environmental conditions suitable for growing conifers

Environmental conditions are essentially the climate, geology, soil, topography, and other living organisms. Two key climatic conditions are the temperature and amount of rainfall an area experiences, and these differ considerably according to locality. The climate of England is essentially that of a northern temperate region but within which is a north/south, east/west climatic divide, with the south-east experiencing the driest, warmest, and coldest conditions (unfavourable conditions for growing many different conifer species) and the north-west of England experiencing predominantly cooler, wetter conditions, but milder winters.

The Lake District, and particularly Cumbria as a whole, probably experiences the widest climatic diversity of anywhere in the country, including having the highest rainfall.⁶⁶ But as many conifers such as those from the Pacific west coast of North America experience this in their natural habitats, the Lake District was, and still is, eminently suitable for their successful growth. The temperature is again suitable for many conifer species, with the average range in the area being between -5°C and 21°C .⁶⁷ However, climatic conditions are not always favourable, as several very high winds experienced in the last twenty years have toppled many trees, and the exceptionally strong and cold winds of the 'Beast from the East' (winter 2018) damaged the east-facing foliage of many conifers.

⁶² Kew Science, *Plants of the World online*, 'Juniperus'.

⁶³ Veitch's (1900), lists thirty-one species and several more cultivars, p. 555.

⁶⁴ Mawson, *The Art and Craft*, p. 147.

⁶⁵ Hillier (2004), p. 360.

⁶⁶ D.A. Ratcliffe, 'Climate', in *A Flora of Cumbria* by Geoffrey Halliday (Bolton: 1997), p. 19.

⁶⁷ On average coastal areas experience warmer winter temperatures and the tops of the fells colder temperatures both summer and winter.

Unlike native deciduous trees, it would appear that certain conifer species, such as *Sequoiadendron giganteum* — Wellingtonia, are not sufficiently resilient to such events, and several years may be required before this damage is outgrown (Figure 2.6).



Figure 2.6 A row of Wellingtonias, with conical crowns, in Hodgehow Wood, Windermere (May 2018). After having been scorched by the bitterly cold winds of the 'Beast from the East' in February 2018, the foliage on their east-facing sides has turned brown. In contrast, the foliage of the deciduous trees has been unaffected.

The Lake District has a complex geology and a variety of soils that, in conjunction with the climate, have created many different types of habitat for plants that in turn have created an array of different vegetation types.⁶⁸ For convenience, the conservationist and botanist David Ratcliffe divided the area botanically into lakes and valley bottoms, woods and lower ravines, and fells, all of which are contained within the three main geological divisions of the Lake District: the Skiddaw Slates, Borrowdale Volcanics, and Windermere Group. All these areas contain very different vegetation types.⁶⁹ The topography of the Lake District also affects the vegetation, and it is exceptional in that in a relatively small area, there are extremes of altitude, many slopes of varying degrees, and numerous aspects. The highest fells reach altitudes of more than 600 m, whereas other areas are below 100 m.⁷⁰ In the immediate

⁶⁸ See Halliday (1997) Geological Map, fig. 2, p. 11, and Alan Smith 'Lakeland Rocks — An Introductory Guide' *The Landscape of Cumbria* (Keswick: 2010).

⁶⁹ Ratcliffe, 'Vegetation', *A Flora*, Halliday (1997), pp. 32–35. See also *British Plant Communities*, ed. by John Rodwell, in five volumes (Cambridge: 1991–2000), in which a country-wide classification of contemporary vegetation is given, with vol. I being *Woodlands and Scrub* (1991).

⁷⁰ See Halliday (1997), Physical Features map, Figure 1, p. 10.

vicinity of Lake Windermere, the land in places is less than 100 m but rises to 300 m on Claife Heights on the west side. The slopes on the westerly shores face predominantly east, whereas those on the easterly shores face west — the latter are likely to be warmer than the former but with the warmest being south-facing slopes. Both altitude and aspect are particularly relevant for the amount of snowfall experienced on the fells. The consequences of many slopes on fells being inhospitable, inaccessible, and unsuitable for farming have resulted in many large areas being utilized for forestry plantations.

Of considerable impact on the landscape and its flora are other living organisms. These include human activities (farming, industry, and urbanization with their accompanying pollution); domesticated and feral domesticated animals (rabbits, grey squirrels, and mink); wild animals, insects, and other plants, both native and introduced. Of all of these, undoubtedly human activities have had and continue to have the greatest impact. Even by the end of the Roman period, it is estimated that over half, or even as much as 80%, of the natural woodland of Britain had been cleared, with the rest being managed, and that by the end of the medieval period, little remained of the natural landscape and its original woodlands, with grassland being the dominant vegetation.⁷¹ In the Lake District, this occurred primarily because of the introduction of sheep and their long association with the land. As the notable botanist, Winifred Pennington (1915–2007), has explained, the vegetation

is consistent with a long-documented history of sheep farming in this region of mild winters where the hardy local breeds could sustain themselves on the fells. There is some genetic evidence which links the local Herdwick sheep with an Old Norse Breed (Pearsall and Pennington 1973), suggesting that it may well have been introduced with the settlements and lowland clearance of c. 1000 AD. This long history of heavy grazing by agile mountain sheep can explain much of the floristic poverty of the Lake District Mountains. At the time of the settlement of the valleys and lower hills, the valley woods were cleared wherever farming was possible, first by Anglian invaders from Northumbria and then by those who spoke Old Norse.⁷²

⁷¹ For comprehensive accounts of woodland during the Roman Period, see Rackham, *The History of the British Countryside* (1986), pp. 74–75, *Trees and Woodland* (1990), pp. 40–41, and *Woodlands* (London: 2006), pp. 110–11.

⁷² W. Pennington, 'Vegetational History' in *A Flora* by Halliday (1997), p. 49.

As a result of human activity, the area in and around Bowness, on the east shore of Lake Windermere, has become urbanized with shops, hotels, facilities to cater for entertainment and the tourism industry, and houses and their gardens, both old and new, and all serviced by numerous roads. The hard, artificial landscaping dominates these areas, whereas in contrast, and mainly due to the endeavours of Beatrix Potter (1866–1943), the west side of the lake has considerably less development, with no towns situated on the immediate environs of the water. It is, however, within the developed areas that many gardens were created and where considerable numbers of conifers grow today, many of which were planted during the Victorian and Edwardian eras.

2.4. Conclusion

Native species have an obvious advantage over exotic species in that they have been available to gardeners in Britain for the longest period of time. However, as there are only three native conifer species, it could be assumed that the scope for their being used for ornamental planting would be limited. But this is not necessarily true, as the amount of use of a particular species depends upon their suitability, and just one species may have multiple uses, as opposed to a greater number of unsuitable species having very few. Out of the three native species, yew was the most favourably received and had the most potential for gardens. Subsequent sections therefore examine the extent to which this species and the other native species were planted for ornamental purposes both in the country as a whole and more specifically in Bowness.

Crucially, and of greater significance than the number of native species, the environmental conditions in the Lake District are favourable for growing conifers from other areas of the temperate world, particularly those from the Pacific coast of North America. This gave the potential for many exotic species to be planted for ornamental purposes in gardens in Bowness (examined in subsequent sections).

3. Exotic species: Their introduction and morphological characteristics

3.1. Introduction

Exotic conifers began to be introduced into Britain as early as the twelfth century, with *Cupressus sempervirens* — Italian cypress being considered the first. However, it was not until the sixteenth century that conifer species began to be introduced in any meaningful way, with *Picea abies* — Norway spruce and *Pinus pinea* — stone pine, being two notable examples.⁷³ Thereafter, further introductions occurred throughout the next three centuries until in the nineteenth century when the greatest number of conifers were introduced and became available to gardeners.⁷⁴ This was the consequence not only of new conifers being discovered on the numerous plant hunting expeditions that were being undertaken during the Victorian era, but also of nurserymen breeding hundreds of cultivated varieties, from both the established species and those newly introduced.

This section discusses six species whose introduction had a significant impact on gardens and parkland in Britain, including those in Bowness, during the period of this research. Their impact was primarily due to their morphology (particularly size), the numbers in which they were planted, or their novelty value.⁷⁵ Their morphological characteristics are therefore examined here together with an analysis of the opinions of the day as to whether these tree species were universally admired. The manner in which these and other conifers were planted in gardens and parkland for ornamental purposes is examined in subsequent sections and in the case studies.

3.2. The species

3.2.1. *Araucaria araucana* (Molina) K. Koch — Monkey Puzzle, Chile Pine

This tree was discovered in 1795 by the Scottish surgeon, botanist, and naturalist, Archibald Menzies (1754–1842), but was not fully introduced into Britain until 1844, when the plant hunter William Lobb (1809–64), of Veitch's Nurseries, Exeter, brought a large quantity of seed from Chile.

⁷³ There was some archaeological evidence from excavations in the 1960s at the Roman Palace of Fishbourne, Chichester, carried out by Barry Cunliffe, that Italian cypresses were planted in the garden, but this evidence has subsequently been questioned. See Tom Turner, *British Gardens: History, Philosophy and Design* (London: 2013), pp. 38–41.

⁷⁴ For the dates of introduction of exotic conifers, refer to Appendix I.

⁷⁵ Indications of the numbers planted can be obtained from nursery invoices of the time, for example, the sales ledger of Richard Gregory and Sons for April 1871 lists 3000 'Arbor Vitae' *Thuja plicata* — western red cedar, as being sold to the Chatsworth estate, Derbyshire (at the time of the 9th Duke of Devonshire). Chatsworth Archives, garden box, not numbered.

The natural variation that occurs in the morphology of this species can result in very different habits being displayed: from tall narrow trees to broad domed specimens. Age also makes a difference, as immature trees retain their lower branches, and older specimens usually lose most of these.⁷⁶

Since the monkey puzzle's introduction, and primarily because of its extraordinary foliage, it has been greatly admired or intensely disliked. The tree was particularly fashionable during the 1850s when no prepossessing middle-class garden owner would be without one in their front garden. However, by the 1880s, this tree no longer received universal approbation, with Mawson rather scathingly stating that it was only suitable for 'an arboricultural museum, or piece of ground devoted to freaks of nature' (Figure 3.1).⁷⁷



Figure 3.1 'Araucaria Imbricata at Dropmore'.⁷⁸
A perfect specimen but one that, according to Thomas Mawson,
belonged to a piece of ground devoted to 'freaks of nature'.

3.2.2. *Chamaecyparis* — species and cultivars

3.2.2.1. *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* (Murr.) Parlatore — Lawson('s) Cypress

This tree was introduced in 1854 by William Murray, who sent seeds to Messrs. Lawson (Nurserymen) of Edinburgh. This nursery was the first to grow and commercially sell this tree in

⁷⁶ See Section 9. Figure 9.11 'An imposing *Araucaria araucana*' in a garden at Cooks Corner.

⁷⁷ Mawson, *The Art and Craft* (1901), p. 144.

⁷⁸ Veitch's (1900), p. 194.

Britain, hence its common name. This conifer shows considerable variation in habit but is described as usually having a crown that is 'tall, narrowly conic with a drooping leading shoot'.⁷⁹ This natural variation was a quality that *Veitch's Manual* commented upon: 'it is polymorphous, giving rise to varieties so distinct from the normal form, and so varied in habit and outline, that several of them are justly ranked among the best of subjects for the geometrical or formal flower garden, both in summer and in winter'.⁸⁰ This variation is evident when comparing a living specimen in the garden of Lindeth Fell, which is tall and narrow, to one depicted in a photograph in *Veitch's Manual* that has a pyramidal shape, more typical of *Thuja plicata* — western red-cedar (Figure 3.15); see Figures 3.2 and 3.3.

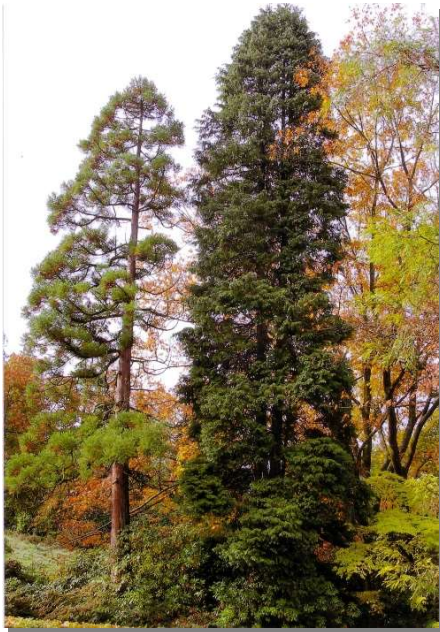


Figure 3.2 *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* — Lawson Cypress. In the garden of Lindeth Fell. A typical shape for this species, if a little narrow, caused by the proximity of the *Cryptomeria japonica* on the left.

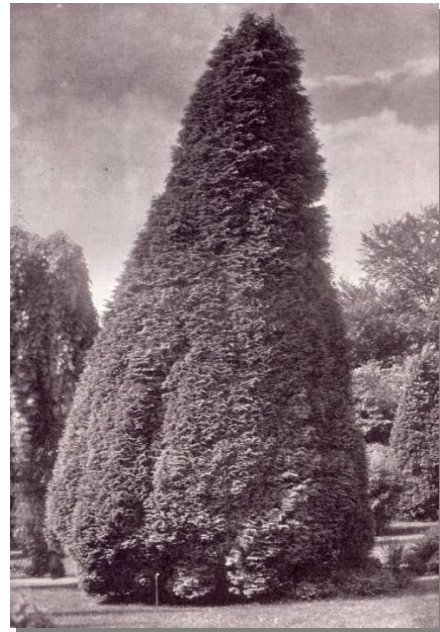


Figure 3.3 '*Cupressus lawsoniana* at Castlewellan, Co. Down, Ireland'.⁸¹ An unusual shape for the type.

Lawson cypress was held in high esteem by horticulturalists and nurserymen of the time. This is evident from the fulsome praise it received, including in *Veitch's Manual*, in which it was stated the tree had:

almost every quality that renders a Coniferous tree valuable for British gardens, [and that] as an ornamental tree it is one of the handsomest. It is perfectly hardy [...] it thrives in almost every

⁷⁹ Alan Mitchell, *Collins Field Guide, Trees of Britain and Northern Europe*, 2nd edn (London: 1978), p. 60.

⁸⁰ *Veitch's* (1900), p. 210.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 203.

description of soil [...] it is remarkably prolific, bearing seed in abundance even in its young state [...] [and that] it may be used for almost every purpose for which Conifers are planted — as a single specimen for the lawn or park, in groups of its own kind, or intermixed with other trees or shrubs.⁸²

In the *Century Book of Gardening* (1900), this species was stated to be ‘the most beautiful of the Cypress Tribe’ and that this beauty was derived from:

the rich Fern-like branchlets which droop at the tips in an exceedingly graceful manner, with the contour of the entire specimen, combine to render a plant of this Cypress an exceedingly graceful object whose beautiful green tint is retained throughout the year.⁸³

By 1900, *Veitch's Manual* listed twenty-four cultivars, including a number that had dwarf habits. Having a dwarf habit meant they could be accommodated in smaller gardens and also in specific areas of a garden such as rock gardens.⁸⁴ A cultivar of this species that perhaps made the greatest contribution to gardens was ‘Lutea’ (Figure 3.4). This tree was introduced



Figure 3.4 *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* ‘Lutea’ in a garden in Bowness (2016).
This cultivar of *C. lawsoniana* was the first to have golden yellow foliage.

⁸² *Veitch's* (1881), p. 233.

⁸³ E. T. Cook, ed., *Century Book of Gardening* (London: 1900), p. 444.

⁸⁴ See recommendation in *Veitch's Manual* (1900), pp. 206–08, and in Mawson's *The Art and Craft* (1901), p. 146. These, and the manner in which they were planted for ornamental purposes, are discussed in subsequent sections.

around 1870 and was the first to have golden yellow foliage. It also became the parent of many other golden varieties. Mawson considered 'Lutea' to be 'a beautiful variety of a bright golden colour, much more compact in habit than the common Cupressus [Chamaecyparis]'.⁸⁵ Another popular cultivar was 'Erecta', introduced in 1865, which was described as 'one of the most ornamental and distinct of all the upright Cypresses'. This cultivar met with Mawson's approval, as he considered it was 'naturally compact in form, [and grew] into shapely upright conicals'.⁸⁶ However, with age, and if left untrimmed, it can grow to a size that is far from compact, as is evident in a tree in the garden of Lindeth Howe today (Figure 3.5).

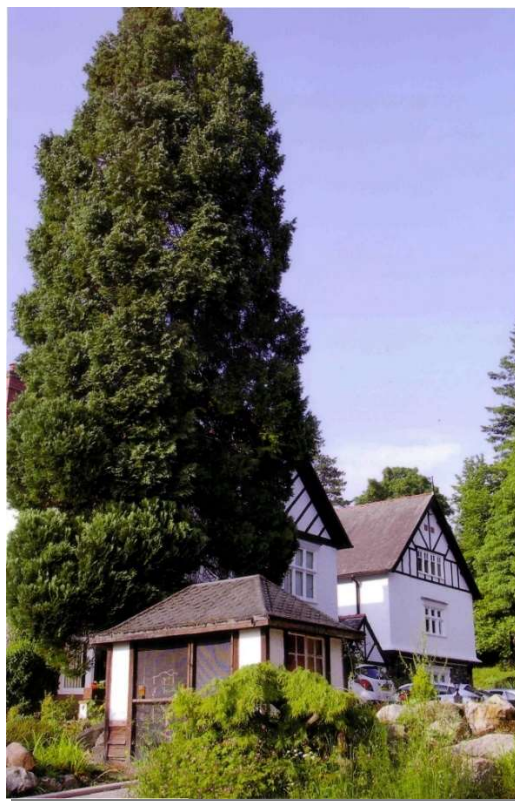


Figure 3.5 *C. lawsoniana* 'Erecta' in the garden of Lindeth Howe (2016).

Yellow-coloured cultivars were followed by those that had bluey grey-coloured foliage, an example being the dwarf cultivar (name of the time): 'Cupressus lawsoniana nana glauca', about which Veitch's *Manual* was very complimentary, describing it as possessing 'almost every quality that makes a coniferous tree valuable for British gardens', and that as an ornamental

⁸⁵ Mawson, *The Art and Craft* (1901), p. 146.

⁸⁶ Ibid.

tree, it was 'one of the handsomest'.⁸⁷ Other qualities of this cultivar that were noted included it being perfectly hardy, remarkably prolific, and polymorphous. As a consequence of possessing all these qualities, *Veitch's Manual* commented:

[the tree] may be used for almost every purpose for which Conifers are planted — as a single specimen for the lawn or park, in groups of its own kind, or intermixed with other trees or shrubs, for evergreen hedges, or as a funereal or cemetery tree.⁸⁸

It is perhaps as a result of such descriptions that this species and its cultivars were some of the most planted trees for ornamental purposes in gardens, not just in Bowness but in the whole of the country where conditions were suitable. However, not all *Chamaecyparis* species or cultivars met with universal approval, with Mawson stating that Lawson cypress was too funereal to be used for any purposes other than hedging.

There are still many extant specimens of Lawson cypress and its cultivars growing in numerous gardens in and around Bowness today, although a large proportion of these are suffering from being badly pruned, storm damage, or general decrepitude owing to neglect and old age. However, notable specimens are in the gardens of Lindeth Fell, Fallbarrow Hall, Brierly Wood, Merewood, Langdale Chase Hotel (although several were felled in this garden in 2018), and houses adjacent to the A592 Bowness-to-Ambleside road.

3.2.2.2. *Chamaecyparis pisifera* (Sieb. and Zucc.) — Sawara cypress and cultivars

This species, introduced from Japan in 1861, was another that had confusing name changes, with both *Veitch's Manual* in 1881 and Mawson referring to the species being in the genus *Retinospora*. However, by 1900, the former refers to the species as being in the *Cupressus* genus when the genus *Retinospora* seems to have been abandoned.⁸⁹

The crown of this species is described as 'conic, often broad, from forked stems', and although its foliage is superficially similar to that of *C. lawsoniana* and *Thuja plicata*, it is considerably duller than both.⁹⁰ It was for this reason that this species was considered inferior and less attractive and rarely used for ornamental plantings. However, the cultivars raised from

⁸⁷ *Veitch's* (1881), p. 233.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ Refer to Appendix II — Changes in Nomenclature.

⁹⁰ Mitchell, *Trees* (1978), p. 66.

this tree — which were introduced from Japan — were undoubtedly more popular, and many more of these were planted in gardens throughout Britain in preference to the type.

The popularity of this species and its cultivars stemmed from the very different morphological characteristics each had as these helped to create variety of shape, foliage, and colour in gardens. Mawson commented that *Retinospora* species were 'all known to lovers of conifers as beautiful dwarf evergreens much in repute for the mixed border, as specimens on lawns and also for planting on terraces'.⁹¹ Not all were dwarf, with *C. pisifera* potentially growing to 20 m in Britain. The most commonly planted cultivars of this species were *C. pisifera* 'Plumosa' (introduced in 1861 from Japan) and 'Squarrosa' (introduced in 1843 from Japan via Java). The former has been described as having a broad conic crown when young and a 'broad, flat-topped column of flat-pinnate dense feathery, juvenile foliage' when mature.⁹² There was also a golden form of this cultivar: 'Plumosa Aurea' (date of introduction and origin uncertain), which was more frequently planted than 'Plumosa' on account of its brighter-coloured foliage. *C. pisifera* 'Squarrosa' has aptly been described as having 'soft, blue, fluffy foliage', which gives this tree a very distinct habit (Figure 3.6).



Figure 3.6 *Chamaecyparis pisifera* cultivars in the garden of Lindeth Fell (2017). 'Plumosa' either side of 'Squarrosa' exhibiting colour variations and different foliage characteristics.

Another popular cultivar was 'Filifera' (introduced in 1861 from Japan), which is described as being a multi-stemmed bush with a broad, dark green, very open crown, with

⁹¹ Mawson, *The Art and Craft* (1901) For his dwarf *Retinospora* species, and cultivars, recommendations of, see p. 148.

⁹² Mitchell *Trees* (1978), p. 67.

shoots that hang like threads, and with small bunches of side-shoots at long intervals.⁹³ The cultivar 'Filifera Aurea' (introduced from Japan in 1889) is similar but with golden foliage (Figure 3.7).



Figure 3.7 *Chamaecyparis pisifera* 'Filifera Aurea', Lindeth Fell (2018).
Bright gold, thread-like foliage and a multi-stemmed trunk
are distinct features of this cultivar.

It is described as being either a beehive-shaped bush or a gaunt few-branched tree.⁹⁴ The colour of this cultivar combined with its thread-like foliage made it a very distinct tree for ornamental plantings. This cultivar would not have been known at the time the first edition of *Veitch's Manual* was published in 1883, but in the 1900 edition it was included, albeit with only the following very brief description: '[this tree] has all the terminal growths light golden yellow'.⁹⁵ Neither 'Filifera' nor 'Filifera Aurea' is mentioned by Mawson, although both are present today in gardens he designed, including Lindeth Fell's, but because of their size today, they were probably later plantings.

As the cultivars of *C. pisifera* exhibit very different characteristics both from the type and from each other, they were of considerable ornamental use in gardens. This was because of the variety they gave in a garden, particularly colour, with examples being the golden foliage of

⁹³ Mitchell *Trees* (1978), p. 67.

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ *Veitch's* (1901), p. 226.

'Plumosa Aurea', the yellow of 'Filifera Aurea' and the bluey grey of 'Squarrosa'. However, as with most *Chamaecyparis* species, their ornamental value is decreased and their individual characteristics lost where they have been planted too closely together or badly managed, and this becomes particularly apparent when an adjacent tree is felled or has blown down (Figure 3.8). Such plantings may have been because of a lack of foresight or knowledge when they



Figure 3.8 Misshapen crowns of conifers in the public garden adjacent to Windermere Library (formerly Ellerthwaite) LH. *Thuja plicata*; RH. *Chamaecyparis pisifera* 'Plumosa'.

were planted, particularly regarding the potential size the tree could attain with even supposedly dwarf varieties reaching 4 m in ten years. Where conifers are planted can also have an effect on the colour of a tree's foliage, with golden varieties being less golden when they are in the shade. As a consequence, often one tree can exhibit a golden colour on its sunny side and a drab green on its shaded side.

3.2.3. *Pseudotsuga menziesii* — Douglas Fir (Mirb.) Franco

This tree was discovered by Archibald Menzies in 1795, and then rediscovered and introduced into Britain by David Douglas (1799–1834) in 1827. Mawson referred to the tree as '*Abies douglasii* — Douglas spruce', and Veitch's *Manual* as '*Abietia Douglasii*'.⁹⁶ The immature shape of the crown of this tree is described as: 'slender, regular and conic',⁹⁷ but with age this alters

⁹⁶ Mawson (1901), p. 144; Veitch's *Manual* (1900), pp. 476–85. Refer to Appendix II, Changes in Nomenclature.

⁹⁷ Mitchell (1978), p. 148.

and perhaps with it the ornamental value of this species, as many become thinly crowned (Figures 3.9 & 3.10). This is often the consequence of being broken by gales or heavy snow. The

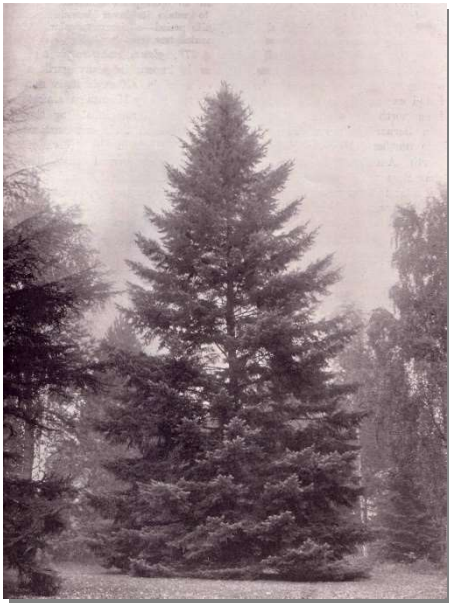


Figure 3.9 '*Abetia Douglasii* at The Frythe, near Welwyn'.⁹⁸



Figure 3.10 *Pseudotsuga menziesii* — Douglas Fir, Lindeth Howe (2016).

The habit of the younger Douglas fir (left above) is neater with an obvious conic shape, with lower branches being retained and no gaps in the uppermost part of the crown.

height of a mature specimen is also a particular feature of this species, as, given the right conditions, a tree growing in Britain can attain the height of 50 m or more. This was undoubtedly a limiting factor to this species being planted for ornamental purposes, particularly when smaller gardens began to be created.

Horticulturalists and nurserymen of the period were aware of the size to which this tree could grow from information received regarding the height they attained in their native habitat of the west coast of North America. As noted in *Veitch's Manual*, the tree was 'one of the grandest of the group of giants which combine to form the forests of the West. It attains a height of 200 and even 300 feet, with a diameter of 10 feet at 4 feet above the ground'.⁹⁹ They were also aware of the height it had already reached in Britain, as noted by Charles Herrin at the Conifer Conference of the Royal Horticultural Society in 1891: 'The monarch Douglas fir, planted in 1830, has attained a height of 120 feet, girth of trunk 11 feet 9 inches, with

⁹⁸ *Veitch's* (1881), p. 483.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 119, quoting from Dr Newberry's *Pacific Railway Report* (undated and unreferenced).

beautiful spreading branches sweeping the ground, covering a diameter of 64 feet'.¹⁰⁰

Realizing this tree's potential size, *Veitch's Manual* gave planting advice, quoting Dr John Lindley (1799–1865),¹⁰¹ who recommended that: 'when planted for ornamental purposes the Douglas fir should have a clear space with a radius of more than 0.9 m assigned to it [and that] in an open place admitting of a free circulation of air, it is found to retain its lower branches in health and vigour for an indefinite period — a circumstance which greatly enhances its value as an ornamental tree'.¹⁰²

Examples of gardens in the area of study suitable for accommodating a thirty-foot radius were primarily those belonging to properties built in the 1880s such as Priory Manor, Langdale Chase, and Fallbarrow Hall. Although *Veitch's Manual* described the tree as 'decidedly handsome', for use in the landscape or parkland, and 'unquestionably one of the most valuable trees ever introduced into Great Britain', it was also noted that the growth of the tree was not without its problems, as was explained: 'where exposed to the force of gales and high winds, breakage of the leader shoot often occurs'.¹⁰³ Mawson also recognized this problem, commenting that: 'whilst in valleys or in positions where it is protected from strong winds it is a rapid and luxuriant grower, it is very impatient of exposure to east winds'.¹⁰⁴

According to *Veitch's Manual*, Douglas fir was planted throughout 'the length and breadth of the land', and there are still many extant species from the Victorian era in gardens and parkland in and around Bowness.¹⁰⁵ These include specimens in the gardens of the following properties: Priory Manor Estate, (one of what used to be several), Lindeth Howe, Brockhole (several, thought to be part of the original plantings by Mawson), Fallbarrow Hall (several including several recently plantings), and Belsfield Hotel (a more recently planted specimen). In Skelghyll Woods, there are several, including the 'Champion' tree for this species in the county of Cumbria.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ As quoted by E. T. Cook, *Trees and Shrubs for English Gardens* (London: 1902), p. 116. This tree grew at Dropmore in Buckinghamshire.

¹⁰¹ John Lindley was a botanist who became assistant librarian at the RHS in 1819 and progressed to garden assistant secretary of the Horticultural Society for which he organized the first flower show to be held in England in 1830. He also became the first professor of botany at the University of London, in which position he remained until 1860.

¹⁰² *Veitch's* (1900), p. 484.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 482.

¹⁰⁴ Mawson, *The Art and Craft* (1901), p. 144.

¹⁰⁵ *Veitch's* (1900), p. 482.

¹⁰⁶ This wood is owned by the National Trust.

3.2.4. *Sequoiadendron giganteum* (Lindl.) Buchholz — Wellingtonia, Giant Sequoia

This tree was introduced in 1853, 'through our collector Mr William Lobb',¹⁰⁷ since which time it has had various name changes both Latin and common. It was referred to in *Veitch's Manual* (1883) and Mawson's *Art and Craft* (1901) as '*Wellingtonia Gigantea* — The mammoth tree of California', and in *Veitch's Manual* (1900) as '*Sequoia Wellingtonia* — Wellingtonia'. Subsequently, the name changed to *Sequoia gigantea* and then finally to *Sequoiadendron giganteum*.¹⁰⁸

Veitch's Manual described this tree as being a 'handsome symmetrical tree in a few years' and with 'a straight erect trunk, covered with tough stringy bark, and thickly furnished with branches, gradually contracting in length from the base upward, so that they present a conical outline, so formal and so sharply defined as to enable them to be readily distinguished from all other trees'.¹⁰⁹ The crown of this tree can be either 'narrowly conic' or 'rounded by lightning damage'.¹¹⁰ This difference is evident when comparing the crowns of trees in Hodgehow Wood, which are sharply conical (Figure 3.11), with a tree in the public garden adjacent to Windermere



Figure 3.11 Wellingtonias in Hodgehow Wood (2016), as seen from Priory Manor estate, with their piercing, sharply conical crowns being much in evidence. In the foreground, on the right, is a *Pseudotsuga menziesii*.

¹⁰⁷ *Veitch's* (1881), p. 206.

¹⁰⁸ Refer to Appendix II, Changes in Nomenclature. The choice of the English name, referring to the Duke of Wellington, was promoted by John Lindley who considered: 'the most appropriate name for the most gigantic tree that has been revealed to us by modern discovery is that of the greatest of modern heroes; let it then bear henceforward the name of *Wellingtonia gigantea*', but as *Veitch's Manual* (1881) pointed out, the name *Wellingtonia* 'has never been generally accepted out of England'. p. 206.

¹⁰⁹ *Veitch's* (1881), p. 204.

¹¹⁰ Mitchell, *Trees* (1978), p. 86.

Library (formerly the garden of Ellerthwaite), which is much more rounded (Figure 3.12). As with many other conifers, the habit of this tree is very different when it is young compared to when it



Figure 3.12 Public Garden (formerly the private garden of Ellerthwaite) beside Windermere Library (2015).

***Fagus sylvatica* 'Purpurea', compared with a *Sequoiadendron gigantea*.
These trees were probably planted at the same time, but now the latter has considerably overtopped the copper beech. They exhibit very different morphological characteristics including having contrasting colours and crown shapes, and being evergreen and deciduous.**

is older. This is because even though they do not always lose their lower branches, their neat, compact conical shape of youth is replaced with heavy branches interspersed with gaps through which daylight appears. *Veitch's Manual* noted the differences between young and old trees, commenting that in the trees' native range, they were 'gigantic, ponderous and imposing, but cannot be called beautiful' and that they were 'very different in appearance [to] the young trees in England, [which are] now seen in almost every park and garden'.¹¹¹ The majority of these would have been planted soon after the tree was introduced.

In the garden adjacent to Windermere Library, a *Wellingtonia* is next to a *Fagus sylvatica* 'Purpurea' — copper beech,¹¹² and a clear comparison can be made between the characteristics of the two trees (Figure 3.12). The broad-leaved, deciduous copper beech has a broad, rounded, domed crown, whereas *Wellingtonia*'s crown is conical and narrow in shape.

¹¹¹ Veitch's (1881), p. 204.

¹¹² *Fagus sylvatica* 'Purpurea' — copper beech was introduced at some time before 1700. It was a very popular tree during the Victorian era owing to the colour of its foliage, and it was frequently associated with ornamental tree plantings of the Victorian era.

The difference in colour is also very striking, and with the conifer remaining evergreen, the contrast is even greater in the spring with the fresh colour of the beech's foliage. As it is likely that these two species were planted at the same time, the greatest difference is in their size, with the Wellingtonia now being considerably taller. At the time these were planted, some thought must have been given to their eventual size, as they have had plenty of space to grow, allowing them to retain their natural shape.

It is probably the immense size of Wellingtonias for which they were, and still are, renowned, although they are not the tallest of the redwoods (this status belongs to the *Sequoia sempervirens* — coast redwood) but they are the largest by bulk.¹¹³ As in this garden, the Wellingtonias that were planted in the Victorian era are now overtopping all their broad-leaved neighbours. Wellingtonias of note in the area of study include the one in the public garden beside Windermere Library, one in the garden of Belsfield Hotel, and several in the gardens and parklands of Fallbarrow Hall, Merewood, Windermere School (both sites), and Hodgehow Wood.

3.2.5. *Thuja plicata* D. Don — Western Red-cedar

This tree was introduced in 1853, and from this time until 1900, there was considerable confusion regarding its nomenclature. *Thuja Lobbi*¹¹⁴ was the name used in *Veitch's Manual* of 1881 and in Mawson's *The Art and Craft*, but with the former mentioning *Thuja gigantea* as an alternative name and the one subsequently used in *Veitch's* 1900 edition.¹¹⁵ At the time of the first edition of *Veitch's Manual*, the name *Thuja plicata* was given to a tree that was thought to be a different species from *T. Lobbi*, but by 1900, as *Veitch's Manual* stated: 'Dr. Master has here conclusively shown that Don's *Thuja plicata* and Nuttall's *T. gigantea* are synonymous'.¹¹⁶

The crown of this tree is described by Mitchell as 'narrowly conic to an erect tip, broadening with age, especially if very large branches are near the base; these sweep upwards

¹¹³ The earliest European explorers to the area of its natural habitat in the Sierra Nevada sent word back to Britain of the immense size of this tree, with John Bidwell reputedly being the first to see it in 1841. In the 1900 edition of *Veitch's Manual*, the destruction of many redwood trees by white settlers along the Pacific coast of North America was noted as: 'far more rapid than that provided by Nature' and was depleting the forest at an alarming rate (p. 273).

¹¹⁴ The tree was discovered by William Lobb, who worked at Veitch's Nursery in Exeter, on one of his plant-hunting expeditions to North America. Veitch's nursery named the tree 'from a desire to pay a well-merited tribute to the exertions of William Lobb through whom it had been introduced' (1900), p. 243.

¹¹⁵ *Veitch's* (1900), p. 239.

¹¹⁶ Don being the first to publish the valid combination of names for this tree, and Nuttall being incorrect in this instance.

or may layer and make huge rings of vertical vigorous boles' (Figures 3.13 & 3.14).¹¹⁷ For the



Figure 3.13 *Thuja plicata* at Cook's Corner (2016). A broad conical shape with usually a luxuriant canopy, similar to Lawson cypress but with a brighter and glossier foliage. In 2018, this tree's canopy was reduced in height, leaving it with a rounded crown.



Figure 3.14 *Thuja plicata* — in 'The Gwyllt' (2014), a woodland garden at Portmeirion, Gwynedd. If this tree is left undisturbed, as here, a secondary ring of boles can develop.

latter to occur, a tree must be left undisturbed for a considerable period of time, but this rarely happens in a garden situation, as gardeners usually prune out such secondary growths. Veitch's *Manual* described this tree as very variable but commonly: 'A tall slender pyramidal tree' with 'glossy bright green foliage' (Figure 3.15).¹¹⁸ The latter feature and an erect tip to the crown

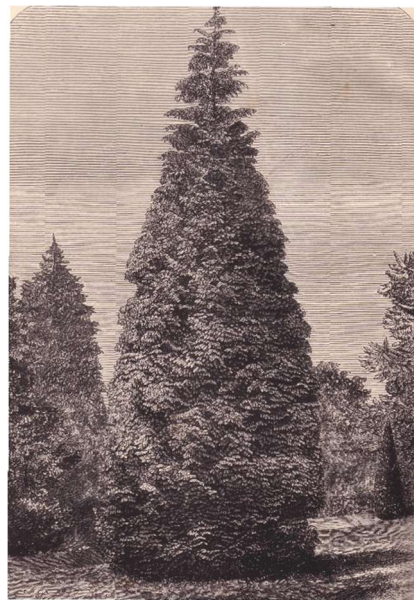


Figure 3.15 '*Thuja gigantea* (Lobbi) at Linton Park, Present height (1881) 50 feet'.¹¹⁹ 'A tall slender pyramidal tree'.

¹¹⁷ Mitchell, *Trees* (1978), p. 81.

¹¹⁸ Veitch's (1881), p. 256.

¹¹⁹ Ibid.

are two features that distinguish this species from *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana*. Again, as with other conifers, the habit of the tree changes with age, with the ideal and desired shape being shown in an engraving in *Veitch's Manual*. Whilst noting that in its native home, its value was as a timber tree, *Veitch's Manual* considered its chief value in Britain was for its 'ornamental qualities as it was an elegant tree for the park and lawns, and especially effective if planted in proximity to ornamental water where the soil is not water-logged; it is also one of the best Conifers for the formation of evergreen hedges'.¹²⁰ Mawson described this tree as being 'disappointing in a young state, [but] which eventually grows into one of the most beautiful of conifers', but he does not give any recommendations for the manner in which it should be planted for ornamental purposes in a garden.¹²¹

Today, this species is still very common in the area, but many, such as the tree in the garden at Cook's Corner, have reached a substantial size and are no longer so easily accommodated in a smaller garden, resulting in their crown having been substantially reduced or the whole tree felled. It is also noticeable that the crowns of many of the trees in the area are becoming sparse — this may be as a consequence of age (although in terms of their potential age, they are not old¹²²), but it is more likely that they are being affected by the fungus *Phytophthora ramora*, by which they will eventually be killed. This tree is still commonly used today for hedging, particularly in preference to the hybrid cypress, × *Cupressocyparis leylandii* — *Leylandii*, but it has not been used in any significant numbers for ornamental plantings since the early twentieth century.

Notable specimens in and around the area of study include one at Lindeth Fell, several at Langdale Chase (although a number were felled in 2018) and Merewood, and many in gardens adjacent to the A592 road from Bowness to Ambleside.

3.3. Confusion and uncertainty over identification, morphology, and growing requirements

3.3.1. Changes in nomenclature

With so many new species and cultivars being introduced, it is understandable that confusion arose at the time regarding the identification of species by botanists, nurserymen, and

¹²⁰ *Veitch's* (1881), pp. 256–57.

¹²¹ Mawson, *The Art and Craft* (1901), p. 149.

¹²² In their native habitat, they can live for up to 600 years.

professional and amateur gardeners alike. This confusion was compounded by difficulties encountered by the ever-changing nomenclature of conifers.¹²³ This created uncertainty as to which species were being described, particularly in nursery catalogues and gardening books. The garden author Walter Wright noted (with his names and spelling) this confusion, commenting:

some important nurserymen list under the generic name *Abies* certain species which botanists put under *Picea* and *Tsuga*, indeed, these dealers almost ignore the two last names. Thus, where some call the Spruce Fir, *Picea excelsa*, others will call it *Abies excelsa*. It is necessary for the amateur to know this, when consulting catalogues.¹²⁴

The changes in nomenclature were particularly evident in relation to *Chamaecyparis* species, as a number of these were, until the 1900s, classified as *Cupressus*, and others as *Retinospora*.¹²⁵ An owner of *Veitch's Manual* (1883) pencilled into the margin of his book that *Retinospora pisifera* was now *Cupressus pisifera* (today known as *Chamaecyparis pisifera*). Similarly, an owner of Loudon's *Trees and Shrubs* (1883) appears to have been somewhat frustrated when he wrote in the margins that the Latin names of certain conifers were now incorrect, commenting that 'at the conference of the RHS 1891 *Abies* was said to embrace the Silver Firs and *Picea* the Spruce Firs', and not the other way round as stated in this book.¹²⁶

English names were equally confusing, as these were, and still can be, notoriously varied for a single species and subsequently ambiguous.¹²⁷ In the past, Scots pine was frequently referred to as Scotch fir, which is incorrect, as firs belong to the genus *Abies* and pines to the genus *Pinus*. This confusion often remains today, undoubtedly mirroring examples of the past.¹²⁸ Throughout the period, nomenclature was a vexing subject as the garden author William

¹²³ See Appendix II, 'Changes in Nomenclature'.

¹²⁴ Walter P. Wright, *Garden Trees and Shrubs* (London: 1913), p. 146.

¹²⁵ Mawson appeared to have been confused about the nomenclature of conifers. See *The Art and Craft* (1901) 'Hardy Conifers for the Formal Garden, Pinetum, & Lawn', pp. 143–49.

¹²⁶ J. C. Loudon, *Trees and Shrubs — An Abridgement of The Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum* (London: 1883) Handwritten note by unknown book owner, undated but c. 1890s, p. 1025.

¹²⁷ In a very thorough archaeological report, for the property known as St. Mary's near Cook's Corner, undertaken for the National Trust, a tree was described as a giant sequoia, even though no tree has this name. If *Sequoiadendron giganteum* was being referred to (but no Latin names were given), then the name should have been: Wellingtonia or giant redwood. It is also apparent from tree surveys, undertaken by tree surgeons, that a good knowledge of conifer nomenclature, either in English or Latin, is often lacking.

¹²⁸ In her biography of Mawson, Janet Waymark perpetuates Mawson's use of the name Scotch fir. *Thomas Mawson: Life, Gardens and Landscapes* (London: 2009),

Watson commented: 'the nomenclature of Conifers has for long been extremely involved and uncertain, and in consequence of this is heavily weighted with synonyms'.¹²⁹

A lack of knowledge in the past must have led, as it still does today, to species being incorrectly identified or not identified at all.¹³⁰ If a species is incorrectly identified, this can lead to historical inaccuracies. This is evident in a caption to a photograph of Rydal Mount, the home of Wordsworth and his family from 1813 to 1850, which stated that the scene depicted was 'very much as it must have been in the Poet's day'.¹³¹ This is incorrect, as the trees beside the gate appear to be either western red cedar or Lawson cypress, both of which were introduced in 1853 and 1854 respectively, after Wordsworth's death. Even if they had been in the country when Wordsworth was alive, given his dislike of introduced trees, and introduced conifers in particular, it is highly unlikely he would have chosen to grow these in his garden (Figure 3.16).

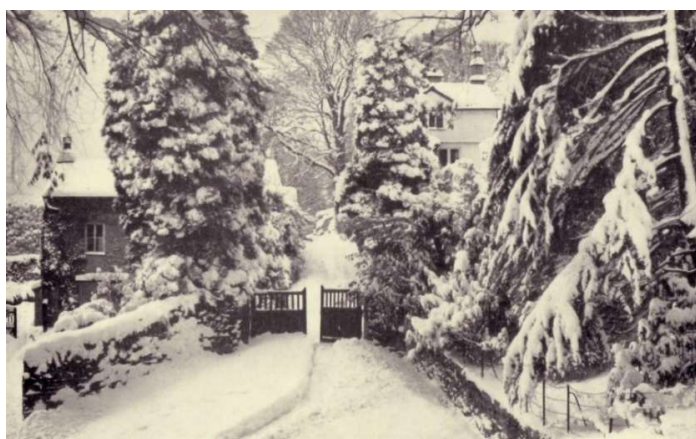


Figure 3.16 'Rydal Mount, the entrance'. The caption to this photograph reads 'very much as it must have been in the Poet's day', which is incorrect, as the conifers either side of the gate were introduced into Britain after Wordsworth had died.

3.3.2. Uncertain morphological characteristics

In addition to not always being able to identify new conifers, many gardeners of the period knew little about the full extent of their morphological characteristics including size. The latter is

¹²⁹ Robert Thompson, *The Gardener's Assistant — A Practical and Scientific Exposition of the Art of Gardening in all its Branches*. New Edition, ed. by William Watson (London: 1906), p. 327. Today with DNA analysis recently confirming the genetic relationship of plants nomenclature may finally be settled.

¹³⁰ At Skelghyll Woods, near Ambleside, the National Trust has labelled a tree as the Champion Tree in Cumbria for: *Picea pungens* 'Glauca' — blue Colorado Spruce. On inspection this tree is clearly not a spruce species but instead the fir: *Abies homolepis* — Nikko fir. Whilst it is sometimes difficult to identify different species of the same genus it is a basic error to confuse genera.

¹³¹ Hugh R. Hulbert, *In the Footsteps of William and Dorothy — An Illustrated Anthology* (Kendal: 1950), opposite p. 16.

evident in comments made by Geoffrey Nicholson, at the Royal Horticultural Society's 'Conifer Conference', who recommended the relatively small growing *Taxus baccata* for 'Large-growing Conifers for Parks', and conversely the potentially large-growing *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* for 'Smaller-growing Conifers for Single Specimens for Lawns &c.'¹³² and an awareness of the morphological characteristics of younger trees compared with mature specimens.

3.3.3. Uncertainty as to growing requirements

In addition to the confusion over names and morphological characteristics, there was often a lack of horticultural knowledge necessary to grow conifers satisfactorily. This related to the different growing conditions required by species. In relation to this, there was an increasing awareness that not all conifers grew equally well in all places. The horticulturalist and garden author E. T. Cook noted this problem when he stated: 'There is no more common mistake made than that of planting just the wrong things in the wrong places'.¹³³ However, he did not consider this to be a problem, as there was a sufficient variety of soil and climate within the limits of the British Isles to provide 'suitable conditions for nearly the whole of the family' (meaning all conifers). Cook sensibly recommended that before any planting takes place for ornamental purposes, 'a study should be made of the species planted in other gardens where the conditions as to soils, moisture, and altitude are similar', as this would give a good indication as to which conifers were thriving in those conditions.¹³⁴ The difficulty here was that as many conifers were newly introduced, there were no examples to follow.

Unlike native species, whose growing requirements would have been well known and well established by the start of the Victorian era, the requirements of newly introduced conifers would have been uncertain. Whilst some species may have thrived despite this lack of knowledge, others would have struggled. An example of this is where Nicholson made a plea for information on *Pinus gerardiana* — Chilgoza pine, which in his experience, 'seems barely do more than exist; our Kew plants are small miserable objects, and do worse than any other cultivated in the open air in the Royal Gardens. Can anyone furnish more favourable particulars

¹³² Geoffrey Nicholson 'Conifers for Landscape Gardening', Report of the Conifer Conference, *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, Vol. XIV, eds. Rev. W. Wilks & John Weathers (London: 1892) pp. 34–40. One of the largest *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* recorded in Britain is in Balmacaan, Inverness, which had reached 40 m by 1978.

¹³³ E. T. Cook, ed., *Trees and Shrubs for English Gardens* (London: 1902), p. 101.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 105.

of this interesting Pine?', and this was despite the tree having been introduced into Britain in 1839.¹³⁵ Through a lack of knowledge, species received completely inappropriate growing conditions. This initially included a number of large, perfectly hardy conifers being confined to pots and kept in glasshouses during the winter months. Examples of poor management that occur today would undoubtedly have occurred in the past. An example of this is *Chamaecyparis* species, which do not regenerate well (if at all) from being hard-pruned into old wood or pollarded (the same applies to *Pinus*, *Abies*, and most *Picea* species). At the very least, such practices result in trees ceasing to have any ornamental value and at worst their death (Figure 3.17).



**Figure 13.17 *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* beside the A592 (2016).
Unknown horticultural requirements can lead to trees being inadvertently killed.
These trees will not regenerate from such severe pruning, rendering
them of no ornamental value and leading to certain death.**

Other species such as *Thuja plicata* — western red-cedar and *Cupressus x leylandii* — Leyland cypress will tolerate a reasonable amount of pruning (thus making them suitable for hedging purposes). The eventual heights to which many species could grow were also, and still are, unknown, and ascertaining how conifers grew in their native habitat was not helpful, as they

¹³⁵ Cook (1902), p. 37. This species was named after Captain Patrick Gerard, a British army officer, who was stationed in India. In Britain, it is rare and only grows well in the warmer, drier areas of the south-east.

could grow very differently in conditions in Britain. An example of this is *Cupressus macrocarpa* — Monterey cypress, which, on Cypress Point and Point Lobos, near Monterey, California, is stunted and wind-blown to one side, whereas in Britain, trees 35 m × 7.5 m in size have been recorded, as they have not been subjected to the rigours of life on the Pacific coast.¹³⁶

3.4. Conclusion

The impact the introduction of exotic species has had on gardens and parkland, particularly those discussed in this section, cannot be underestimated. Their introduction into the country, including in Bowness, considerably altered the appearance of gardens and landscapes because there were no other native species of an equivalent size, shape, or colour.

The introduction of these exotic species also stimulated and perpetuated an interest in conifers for several decades during the Victorian era. This resulted in these trees being planted for ornamental purposes on a scale never seen before or since. The exceptional number of new species and cultivars available during this period also gave gardeners a far greater scope than had been experienced by earlier generations. However, not all of these were universally admired and planted. Mawson, in particular, had very strong opinions about certain species not being suitable for gardens (discussed in Section 10).

Incorrect identification, changes in nomenclature, and unknown morphological characteristics all caused gardeners considerable problems when deciding on which species to grow for ornamental purposes or how they should be cultivated. Choosing and growing the correct conifer either for their aesthetics or for the growing conditions was therefore not a simple matter. Undoubtedly this uncertainty would have resulted in many conifers being planted in the wrong place. This particularly applied to their size, as few gardeners would have realized the potential height and breadth many conifers could attain, even in a relatively short time. In Bowness today, the problems this would have caused (and continues to cause) are very evident, with blocked views, planting sites outgrown, and conifers inhibiting each other's growth, resulting in lop-sided crowns. A lack of foresight or knowledge created these problems and has resulted in many conifers being disliked and felled.

¹³⁶ Mitchell (1978), p. 70. The age limit, and therefore size, is not yet known for this tree in Britain.

4. The development of gardens and ornamental conifer planting prior to the eighteenth century

4.1. Introduction

The manner in which conifers were planted for ornamental purposes in gardens prior to the eighteenth century is analysed in this section. This includes not only how the three native species were used but also those exotic species that had arrived prior to this century. A prerequisite for their planting was that gardens for pleasure existed. This section therefore traces the history of the development of gardens before the eighteenth century (noting when and how conifers were used), the views of the time regarding these trees, and whether different garden styles influenced which conifer species were planted.

4.2. The first ornamental gardens

The first evidence for pleasure gardens being created in Britain comes from the time of the Roman occupation (AD 43 to c. 400).¹³⁷ Prior to this period, during the Iron Age (800 BC to AD 43), the concept of having this type of garden as opposed to a utilitarian one would have been unthinkable to a people whose efficient agricultural practices reflected a society concerned with the production of food and the rearing of animals rather than aesthetic considerations (Figure 4.1). Whilst trees were undoubtedly a valuable resource, being used for fencing,



Figure 4.1 Various conifer species in the garden of Belsfield Hotel, Bowness (2016). Aesthetics considerations and an appreciation of the different morphological characteristics of trees, as apparent in these trees, are unlikely to have been a consideration of Iron Age communities.

¹³⁷ Most notably, archaeological evidence from Fishbourne Roman Palace, Chichester. See Turner, *British Gardens*: (2013). The Romans may also have been the first to introduce the conifer *Cupressus sempervirens* L. — Italian cypress, into Britain, but there is some doubt over this. See Mitchell, *Trees* (1978), p. 72. 'Pleasure' synonymous here with 'ornamental'.

building, firewood, implements, and boat construction, there is no evidence to indicate that they were being used ornamentally. Although myths and recorded literature reveal plants were being appreciated for their beauty in ancient civilizations, such as those in Persia and Assyria as early as 5000 BC, it is not known when trees were first appreciated in Britain solely for their aesthetic qualities.¹³⁸ It was, however, these qualities, which stemmed from their different morphological characteristics, combined with their ecological suitability, that later determined their ornamental use in gardens.

After the Romans departed, there is no evidence to show that any gardens were created, or trees planted for ornamental purposes, during the whole of the period known as the Dark Ages (410–1066). This was primarily because of the very unsettled times — with wars between different kingdoms, Viking invasions, plagues, and famine. As the garden historian Penelope Hobhouse has commented: 'Survival in a brutal age precluded aesthetic considerations and the concept of creating a garden for enjoyment was lost'.¹³⁹ However, after the Norman conquest of 1066:

there is ample proof that ornamental gardening flourished in England as well as in north western Europe, from the late eleventh century if not earlier, that it was based on a keen delight in the appearance of plants and their perfumes, and also in the sight and sound of running waters. Trees were planted, not only for timber or for fruit, but as decorative adjuncts to houses; the therapeutic value of their shade was recognised and walking under trees, or where their beauty could be appreciated was an accepted recreation and also a factor in convalescence [...] For the Middle Ages like all periods of high and refined culture, was a time when men and women loved gardens and trees.¹⁴⁰

Whilst in Cumbria, just as elsewhere in the country, the Normans established forests¹⁴¹ for hunting, with a notable example being at Inglewood, which stretched from Carlisle to Penrith, there is no evidence to indicate that ornamental gardens were created in this area at this

¹³⁸ Penelope Hobhouse, *The Story of Gardening* (London: 2002), p. 8.

¹³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 98.

¹⁴⁰ John Harvey, as quoted by Turner (2013), pp. 71–72.

¹⁴¹ Oliver Rackham makes the following distinction: a Medieval Forest (with a capital F) was a place of deer, not trees, whereas forest (lower case f) was a term for woodland or a plantation. See *Woodlands* (2006), p. 24. Chase also indicates an area used for hunting, an example being Cannock Chase in Staffordshire.

time.¹⁴² However, a few of the baronial estates that were established at this time, such as Muncaster Castle's, continued to develop through the centuries, with their houses being rebuilt and ornamental gardens being created in the latest fashionable styles.

As a consequence of the unsettled times, gardens were mainly confined within castle walls (referred to today as 'enclosed' gardens) or fortified manors and were created primarily by royalty and the nobility. For the first time, there is evidence, primarily from illuminated manuscripts, to show how these looked and on occasions how trees were being managed in the wider landscape (Figure 4.2). In addition to this evidence, it was in the fourteenth century



Figure 4.2 An early fifteenth-century illustration from *Trés Riches Heures*, by Pol de Limbourg for Jean, Duc de Berry, from which the type of planting and management of trees at this time can be discerned, including pollarding.

that 'detailed and systematic information on the kinds of trees grown begins', including which conifers were planted.¹⁴³ As these were still quite rare at this time, they appear to have been particularly valued — along with other evergreen plants — as being 'a dispensation of the

¹⁴² The Normans appear to have considered the Lake District, together with the rest of Cumbria, as of little value, a fact confirmed by only the very southerly part of the county being included in Domesday Book.

¹⁴³ John Harvey, *Mediaeval Gardens* (London: 1981), p. 122. Harvey lists all the plants mentioned from the time of Palladius (380) to William Turner in 1538, pp. 168–80, with yew and juniper being the only two conifers included. See also: Blanche Henry, *British Botanical and Horticultural Lists before 1800* (London: 1975). One of the earliest lists of the available plants was by Friar Henry Daniel in the mid-fourteenth century; see John Harvey, 'Henry Daniel: A Scientific Gardener of the Fourteenth Century', *Garden History* vol. 15 no. 2 (Autumn, 1987), pp. 81–93. Various manuscripts by Daniel are kept at the Bodleian Library, Oxford. Plants were also mentioned in other types of written work, most notably that of the poet Geoffrey Chaucer (c. 1343–1400).

Creator' in that He had 'ordained them to be green winter and summer'.¹⁴⁴ Also, as a consequence of their rarity, 'larger conifers aroused interest on the part of mediaeval observers',¹⁴⁵ and, as the garden historian John Harvey has argued, it would be safe to assume that of the existing conifers 'a few specimens got into gardens here and there'.¹⁴⁶

In comparison with most midland and southern counties of England, Cumbria was a backwater during the medieval period, and although the twelfth and thirteenth centuries were a relatively prosperous time, a period of decline followed in the fourteenth century. This was the consequence of invasions from Scotland, constant raids by border reivers,¹⁴⁷ outbreaks of the plague (the Black Death), and a deterioration of the climate in 1350, resulting in poor harvests and famine, all of which precluded the creation of pleasure gardens.

4.3. The Ornamental Use of Conifers in Renaissance Gardens, 1495–1640(60)¹⁴⁸

Many garden authors refer to gardens created during this period under the Royal Houses of the various monarchies and as such are also described here.

4.3.1. Tudor and Elizabethan gardens (1485–1603)

By the time of the Tudors, the Americas had been 'discovered', and vast riches were pouring into countries such as Portugal. Explorers were opening up new up trade routes, and innovative ideas in painting and architecture were being spread from Italy through books and merchant activity. This was against a background of long-held scientific and religious beliefs being challenged.¹⁴⁹ The years between c. 1500 and the Sack of Rome in 1527 (by the mutinous troops of Charles V (1500–58), Holy Roman Emperor) saw a prodigious outpouring from Italy¹⁵⁰ in all the visual arts, with High Renaissance art and Mannerism being the two main artistic styles between 1500 and 1600.¹⁵¹ However, as the ideas from Italy were slow in being adopted in

¹⁴⁴ Harvey (1981), p. 124.

¹⁴⁵ Ibid., p. 125.

¹⁴⁶ Ibid.

¹⁴⁷ Often with Pele towers, with around 90 being in the Lake District and its immediate vicinity, the majority of which date from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. R. W. Brunskill, *Traditional Buildings of Cumbria: the County of the Lakes* (London: 2002).

¹⁴⁸ For comprehensive and scholarly accounts of garden design during this period, see Roy Strong, *The Renaissance Garden in England* (London: 1979), and Pamela Henderson, *The Tudor House and Garden* (New Haven & London: 2005).

¹⁴⁹ Robert Cumming, *Art* (London: 2005), p. 131. An example being in 1542 when Copernicus published his proof that the Sun, and not the Earth, was the centre of our planetary system.

¹⁵⁰ As a country, Italy did not become a nation-state until 1861.

¹⁵¹ The visionary goal of High Renaissance art was 'a perfect union of the human and divine, Christian and pagan, Antique, nature and imagination'. In contrast, Mannerism was a 'deliberate flouting of the rules and willful distortions'. Cumming (2005), p. 131.

northern Europe, 'fascinating architectural hybrids' occurred, including in England where local styles emerged with those arriving from Italy.¹⁵² The delay in adopting these Italian influences was caused in part by Henry VIII breaking with Rome in 1543 and diplomatic contact ending. In addition to a hybrid architectural style, the delay also resulted in a hybrid garden style. This was a consequence of Italian garden design, as epitomized in gardens such as Villa d'Este's and Pratolino's, being filtered through France and then having an English overlay.

By the time this occurred, the concept of having a garden purely for pleasure had been firmly established. Political stability, particularly during the Elizabethan era, had led to gardens no longer being confined within castle walls or fortified manors but instead spreading out into the wider landscape unimpeded by fortified walls. Large estates were established with substantial houses and gardens. One of the earliest, and most notable garden of the time, was Henry VIII's at Hampton Court. This was a garden created to display the dynastic power of the Tudors and included many heraldic devices relating to the Tudors.¹⁵³ Although it contained 'anticke' work or 'curiously shaped trees' (not at this time described as topiary work) and ornamental hedges, the use of conifers was limited. This was due to the small number of species available and the style of the garden. Many of the other gardens created at this time, such as Hardwick Hall's in Derbyshire, were still based on the medieval enclosed garden, with several areas being joined together.¹⁵⁴ Although these contained increasingly inventive and elaborate knot gardens and privy gardens, there was little scope for conifers, except for topiary, the use of which continued to develop.

The period was therefore unremarkable for its ornamental conifer plantings, but it was significant in that a distinction was clearly established between horticulture, garden design, and the new science of botany.¹⁵⁵ The style of gardens was also significant because 'they have left such a vivid impression within the realm of popular mythology'.¹⁵⁶ This impression was particularly evident in the Victorian era when architects, artists, and designers were looking back

¹⁵² Jonathan Glancey, *Architecture* (London: 2006), p. 291.

¹⁵³ The dominant features were heraldic beasts atop brightly painted and gilded poles holding flags or vanes upon which the Tudor rose or coats of arms were depicted.

¹⁵⁴ An example of this, which can still be viewed today, is the garden of Hardwick Hall, Derbyshire.

¹⁵⁵ In 1538, Dr William Turner (1508–1698), the 'father of English botany', wrote one of the earliest floras of the British Isles: *Libellus de herbaria Novus* (1538), in which 238 native species were listed.

¹⁵⁶ Strong (1979), p. 45.

to this age for inspiration.

4.3.2. Sixteenth-century gardens in the Lake District

Currently, there is no evidence to indicate the creation of any notable gardens in the Lake District during the sixteenth century. Whilst gardens were being created further south, particularly during the Elizabethan era, the lack of any great houses in the Lake District, equivalent to those of Chatsworth in Derbyshire, or Longleat in Wiltshire, appears to have been the consequence of a variety of circumstances. These included the following: firstly, the inaccessibility of the area and the difficult terrain, which made travelling to and from and within the area difficult; secondly, much of the land being marginal and far less productive than that on the periphery of the area or in other parts of the country; and thirdly, the northern aristocracy, particularly on the borders with Scotland, lacking the wealth of many southern estate owners. The latter was the consequence of bearing the cost of defending themselves against the Border reivers and wars with Scotland, which all contrived to make them poorer.¹⁵⁷ As a consequence, it was only the wealthy aristocratic families, whose primary seats were outside the Lake District, well away from the border turmoil with Scotland, who came to own a considerable amount of land in the area.¹⁵⁸

4.3.3. Jacobean and early Carolinian gardens (1600–40)

Seventeenth-century Europe saw a period of deep ideological and religious divisions. These were created by the unyielding belief of many European monarchs in the 'Divine Right of Kings' creating a period of absolutism in Europe,¹⁵⁹ and by the conflict between the starkly contrasting religious ideologies of the Catholic and Protestant churches. A new style for the arts, the baroque,¹⁶⁰ emerged around 1600 and was taken up with gusto by continental kings and the Catholic Church. It was therefore particularly prevalent in Italy, Spain, and France but less so in England. This was the result of the style being 'regarded with distrust in Protestant England because of its association with Catholicism' and the Catholic Church using it 'to proclaim its

¹⁵⁷ See George MacDonald Fraser, *The Steel Bonnets: the story of the Anglo-Scottish border reivers* (London: 1971).

¹⁵⁸ An example being the Howards, the Dukes of Norfolk, who through marriage acquired Greystoke Castle in the mid-1500s.

¹⁵⁹ Embodied by the French king, Louis XIV (1638-1715).

¹⁶⁰ 'Baroque' was first used disparagingly to describe something artificially extravagant and complex'. The term was not used at the time but has been retrospectively applied in more recent times. See Cumming, *Art* (2005) p. 163.

continuing power' as part of the Counter-Reformation.¹⁶¹ However, the work of a number of painters of the period, including Nicholas Poussin (1593–1665) and Claude Lorrain (c. 1600–82), became particularly influential in eighteenth-century England, long after they had died, with their Arcadian landscapes being the template for the creation of many gardens of the English aristocracy.

Except for the use of symbolism, the baroque style was of no influence on English gardens during this period.¹⁶² Instead, the gardens continued to develop independently, becoming larger and very formal with geometric designs on a grand scale. There was also a much greater emphasis being placed on plants, with a burgeoning interest in these being stimulated by a number of factors. These included the establishing of the first botanic garden in Oxford, England, in 1620, the introduction of numerous plants — the result of an increasing number of plant-hunting expeditions¹⁶³ — and the publication for the first time of horticultural manuals, which, unlike the earlier printed herbals, described the aesthetic merits of plants.¹⁶⁴ One of the earliest was John Parkinson's *Paradisi in Sole: Paradisus Terrestris* (1629) in which the medicinal properties of plants were relegated to a minor paragraph, and the aesthetic characteristics of almost a thousand exotic plants described instead.¹⁶⁵

With regard to the manner of conifer planting it is evident that topiary continued to be fashionable, although not universally admired. The latter is evident in a comment made by Sir Francis Bacon (1561–1626): 'I, for my part, do not like images cut out in juniper, or other garden stuffe: they be for children'.¹⁶⁶ Illustrations of the time also indicate there was a considerable increase in the number of conifers being planted for ornamental purposes, an example being the Earl of Pembroke's gardens at Wilton House, Wiltshire (Figure 4.3 over).¹⁶⁷ However, although conifers were being planted for ornamental purposes, it was flowering plants and flower gardens

¹⁶¹ Glancey (2006), p. 326.

¹⁶² Garden authors and historians, both in the past and today, more commonly refer to gardens of this period as 'Formal' gardens.

¹⁶³ Two of the earliest and most notable plant collectors were John Tradescant the Younger (1608–62), and his father John Tradescant the Elder (c. 1570s–1638).

¹⁶⁴ These books were still very expensive, so precluding them from being read by all but the very wealthy, but William Lawson's, *The Country House Wife's Garden* (London: 1617) appears to have been written for the gentry classes.

¹⁶⁵ Hadfield (1971), p. 25.

¹⁶⁶ Sir Francis Bacon in his essay, 'Of Gardens' published in 1625, as quoted by Miles Hadfield, *Topiary and Ornamental Hedges, Their History and Cultivation* (London: 1971), p. 24.

¹⁶⁷ For a description of this garden, refer to that of the poet John Taylor's, as quoted by Hadfield, *ibid.*, p. 27.

that were being favoured, with new species and varieties causing considerable excitement and enthusiasm. From the 1630s, this led to an 'obsession with new and improved flowers', particularly 'florists' flowers'¹⁶⁸ and the speculative crash known as 'Tulipomania' in the 1630s.¹⁶⁹

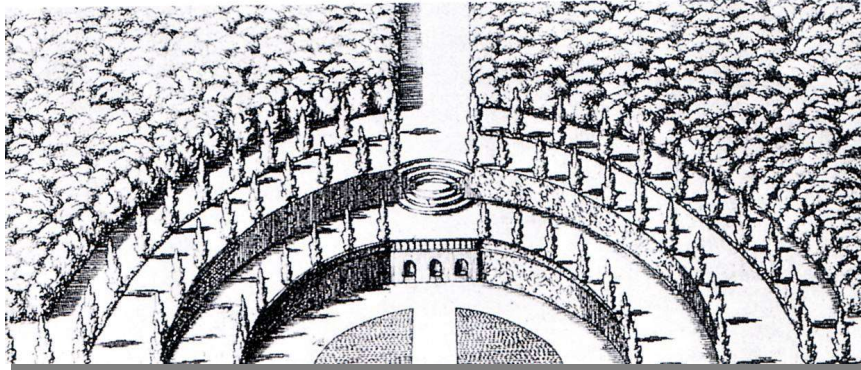


Figure 4.3 The amphitheatre at Wilton House, Wilton (detail).
The shape of the trees in the semi-circles possibly indicates Italian cypresses.

Although gardening and an interest in plants continued during the period of the English Civil War (1642–49), the development of ornamental gardens came to an abrupt halt; indeed many gardens, particularly those associated with royalty or royalists, were destroyed. Throughout the Commonwealth Period (1649–60), the emphasis was placed on good husbandry — a puritan ideal — particularly growing plants for food.¹⁷⁰ However, after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660, ornamental gardens once again emerged but no longer along the same traditions as before, as French influences now dominated, and it was amidst this new style that conifers became central to many aspects of their design.

4.3.4. Carolinian and later gardens (1660–1702)

It was only after the restoration of the monarchy in 1660 and the return to England of Charles II that the baroque style emerged in England, referred to as the 'English baroque' and lasting between 1666 and 1713. The style was particularly evident in public buildings and churches but less so in domestic architecture.¹⁷¹ Buildings designed by Sir Christopher Wren (1632–1723), Sir

¹⁶⁸ According to Ruth Duthie, the word 'florist' was first used in 1623 by Sir Henry Wotton. 'English Florists's Societies and Feasts in the Seventeenth and First Half of the Eighteenth Centuries', *Garden History* Vol. 10, No. 1 (Spring, 1982), p. 17. The word has been defined by Peter Goodchild as 'a person whose special interest, whether it was amateur or professional, was in growing flowers, or, alternatively in flower gardening. 'John Rea's Gardens of Delight: Introduction and the Construction of the Flower Garden', *Garden History* vol. 9, no. 2 (Autumn, 1981,) p. 100.

¹⁶⁹ Timothy Mowl, *Gentlemen and Players* (Stroud: 1980), p. 48.

¹⁷⁰ Peter H. Goodchild, "'No Phantasticall Utopia, but a Reall Place": John Evelyn, John Beale and Backbury Hill, Herefordshire'. *Garden History*, vol. 19, no. 2 (Autumn, 1991), pp. 105–27.

¹⁷¹ An example being: Chatsworth House, Derbyshire, designed by William Talman and Thomas Archer, after 1687.

Nicholas Hawksmoor (1661–1736), and Sir John Vanbrugh (1664–1726) came to epitomize the style. The arts and sciences also flourished under royal patronage, with two notable court portrait painters being Sir Peter Lely (1618–80) and Sir Godfrey Kneller (1646–1723),¹⁷² but as yet the genre of landscape painting, well established in the Low Countries, had yet to emerge in England.

The garden style that came to prominence during this period was influenced by French baroque garden designs, but again with an English overlay. The influence of French design was as a consequence of Charles II being exiled in France and upon his return bringing with him the French garden designers, André and Gabriel Mollet and André le Nôtre. During the period 1660–1702, garden design developed around three themes: 'flowers, trees and axial formalism',¹⁷³ with the latter, created by the use of axial symmetry, dominating the designs.

Whilst the passion for flowering plants continued unabated, there was also an increasing interest in growing conifers. The latter was stimulated for two reasons: firstly, because conifers were becoming more readily available from nurseries,¹⁷⁴ and secondly, because more authors were promoting the suitability of different conifer species for various situations in gardens. With regard to the first reason, one of the largest nurseries to be established was 'that of Captain Leonard Gurlles who was exploiting an area of some twelve acres between Spitalfields and Whitechapel by 1660 or earlier' and which by the 1670s was selling spruce and cypress.¹⁷⁵ Perhaps the most notable nursery to be established was Brompton Park Nursery, Kensington, in 1681.¹⁷⁶ This was owned by the nurserymen and foremost gardener designers of the period, George London (1681–1714) and Henry Wise (1653–1738),¹⁷⁷ and was particularly significant because it 'played a leading part in horticulture' in that it provided 'plants of all descriptions,

¹⁷² The Royal Society was founded in 1662.

¹⁷³ Mowl (1980), p. 48.

¹⁷⁴ Harvey argues the effective time of the start of the nursery trade was during the reign of Charles I, *Early Nurserymen* (Chichester & London: 1974), p. 9. Plants were also being imported from Dutch nurseries but 'long before the emergence of the nurserymen carrying on a full-time business, the supply of plants undoubtedly lay in the hands of the professional gardeners', p. 27. The first trade lists to have survived 'date from the Restoration of 1660, and both the earliest priced list and the earliest general catalogue of a plant nursery come from the famous George Rickets (died 1706) of Hoxton, established before 1665', p. 144.

¹⁷⁵ David Jacques and Arend Jan van der Horst, *The Gardens of William and Mary* (London: 1988), p. 172.

¹⁷⁶ This nursery was situated where the Victoria and Albert Museum is today — an area that was in the countryside at this time.

¹⁷⁷ In addition to being garden designers and nurserymen, they published: *The Retir'd Gardener, in Two Volumes: the Whole Revis'd, with Several Alterations and Additions, Which Render it Proper for Our English Culture*. (1706), which was a translation of *Le Jardinier Solitaire*, by François Gentil.

regularized the use of correct names, particularly of fruit trees, and undertook the design and construction of gardens'.¹⁷⁸ The conifers used by London and Wise in their designs were (their nomenclature with the correct Latin names in parentheses): yew, silver fir (*Abies alba*), spruce fir (*Picea abies*), Scotch fir (*Pinus sylvestris*), cedar of Lebanon (*Cedrus libani*), arbor vitae (*Thuja occidentalis*), cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens*), and various junipers.¹⁷⁹ By the start of the seventeenth century, six conifers had been introduced; four more arrived before 1660, and by the end of the century this had increased by a further five, giving greater scope for their ornamental plantings.¹⁸⁰

Amongst the most notable authors of the period who promoted the planting of conifers were Sir John Evelyn (1620–1706), Sir Thomas Hanmer (1612–78), and Moses Cook (?–1715). Through his book, *Sylva* (1664), Evelyn was influential on the planting and use of trees both for forestry and for pleasure gardens.¹⁸¹ For the latter, he recommended yew for forming 'standards, knobs, walks, hedges etc. [as] they succeed marvellous well, and are worth our patience for their perennial verdure and durableness'.¹⁸² Evelyn gave himself credit for being the first to commend its use for hedges, stating: '[I] may [...] without vanity be said to have been the first who brought it into fashion'.¹⁸³ Other conifers he described were: 'Abies, Picea, Pinus, Pinaster, and Larch', and he occasionally mentioned their aesthetic suitability for gardens including for avenues.¹⁸⁴ From the time of Evelyn, the term '*hortulan* architecture' was increasingly being used to describe features that resembled architectural structures but which were created from using evergreen trees or shrubs.¹⁸⁵ These included allées, mazes, alcoves, and columns, their shapes being created from clipping hedges, mainly out of yew.¹⁸⁶

The politician and contemporary of Evelyn, Sir Thomas Hanmer, was a keen and notable

¹⁷⁸ Jacques and Horst (1988), p. 28.

¹⁷⁹ David Green, *Gardener to Queen Anne, Henry Wise (1653–1738)* and as quoted by Hadfield in *The Formal Garden* (1956), pp. 31–32. There are no records for the conifers planted at Chatsworth during this time.

¹⁸⁰ See Appendix I.

¹⁸¹ Evelyn had his critics, with the Earl of Harrington commenting he was 'too credulous, and regarded the age of the moon too much, and other niceties too trifling for so grand a man' as quoted in Hadfield (1971), p. 29. The later edition of 1706 included *Kalendarium Hortense, Or, the Gard'ners Almanac*. For the full title, see Bibliography.

¹⁸² John Evelyn, *Sylva, A New Edition To which is added the Terra: A philosophical Discourse of Earth*. With Notes by A. Hunter, M.D. FRS, vol. I (York: 1776), p. 261.

¹⁸³ Evelyn (1776), pp. 260–61.

¹⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 276.

¹⁸⁵ John Dixon Hunt, 'Historical Excursion: Late Seventeenth-century Garden Theory' *Greater Perfections, The Practice of Garden Theory* (London: 2000), ch. 7, pp. 181–206.

¹⁸⁶ Jacques and Horst (1988), Appendix B, 'Trees and Shrubs for the Bosquet and Wilderness' in which trees and shrubs were recommended for these features.

horticulturalist, and whilst he had a particular fondness for flowering plants, he also took an interest in conifers and where they would be suitable for growing in a garden.¹⁸⁷ In his book (not published until 1933), he gave a very clear insight, primarily from his own observations, into the status of conifers during this period.¹⁸⁸ He described them under the heading 'OF GREENES' and was particularly complimentary about the cedar of Lebanon, Norway spruce, and Italian cypress.¹⁸⁹ He also mentioned larch, but as he appeared unfamiliar with the species, he made no attempt to describe its characteristics.¹⁹⁰ It is clear from Hanmer's observations that he was noting the different morphological characteristics and the aesthetics of conifers, and how these influenced where they should be planted in a garden.

The scale of tree planting, including conifers, at this time is particularly evident in the illustrations of exceptionally grand gardens in *Britannia Illustrata* (1707) by Johannes Knyp (1653–1722) and Leonard Knyff (1650–1721).¹⁹¹ These included the gardens of Badminton, Gloucestershire; Longleat, Wiltshire; Chatsworth, Derbyshire; and the Earl of Essex's garden at Cassiobury, Hertfordshire. The latter was created from 1669 under the direction of Moses Cook,¹⁹² and contained 'a most unusual forest garden' and an early example of an avenue system in which the direction was turned by large circles.¹⁹³ A large oval, which was used as a bowling green, was surrounded by 'treble rows of Spanish Firr trees', a feature noted by Evelyn and evident in other gardens of the period such as the Duchess of Beaufort's at Beaufort House, Chelsea.¹⁹⁴ Towards the end of the century, fashionable features were also being incorporated into the gardens of the lesser gentry, albeit on a smaller scale, which included the increasingly popular, flower garden. Illustrations of these often show that conifers were being included in

¹⁸⁷ Hanmer created a notable garden at his home Bettisfield Hall, near Wrexham, Flintshire. He obtained many of the plants in the garden from the nurseryman George Rickets. See Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (1974).

¹⁸⁸ Thomas Hanmer (1612–78) as quoted in *The Garden Book of Thomas Hanmer: Now first printed from the MS volume of 1659 under the care of Ivy Elstob. With an Introduction by Eleanor Sinclair Rohde* (London: 1933). The majority of this book was about flowering plants, particularly florists' flowers.

¹⁸⁹ Thomas Hanmer, as quoted by Elstob (1933), pp. 126–28.

¹⁹⁰ Hanmer, as quoted by Elstob (1933), p. 126.

¹⁹¹ Johannes Knyp and Leonard Kynff, *Britannia Illustrata*, also known as: *Views of Several of the Queen's Palaces and also of the Principal Seats of the Nobility and gentry of Great Britain* (1707–09). Many of the gardens depicted in this book had been designed by London and Wise.

¹⁹² Moses Cook wrote *The Manner of Raising and Ordering and Improving Forest and Fruit Trees* (1676). He was also one of the four founders of Brompton Park Nursery in 1681.

¹⁹³ Sir John Evelyn, as quoted by Jacques & Horst (London: 1988), p. 27.

¹⁹⁴ Today, Spanish fir usually refers to *Abies pinsapo*, but this was not introduced into England until 1839. The tree being referred to here was probably *Pinus pinea* — stone pine, a Mediterranean species, which was introduced before 1500.

these flower gardens. An example of this is evident in the painting of Pierrepont, Nottinghamshire. Here, conifers (probably Italian cypress or juniper) were planted in a formal, symmetrical manner in the centre and corner of the flower beds (Figure 4.4). The illustrations in

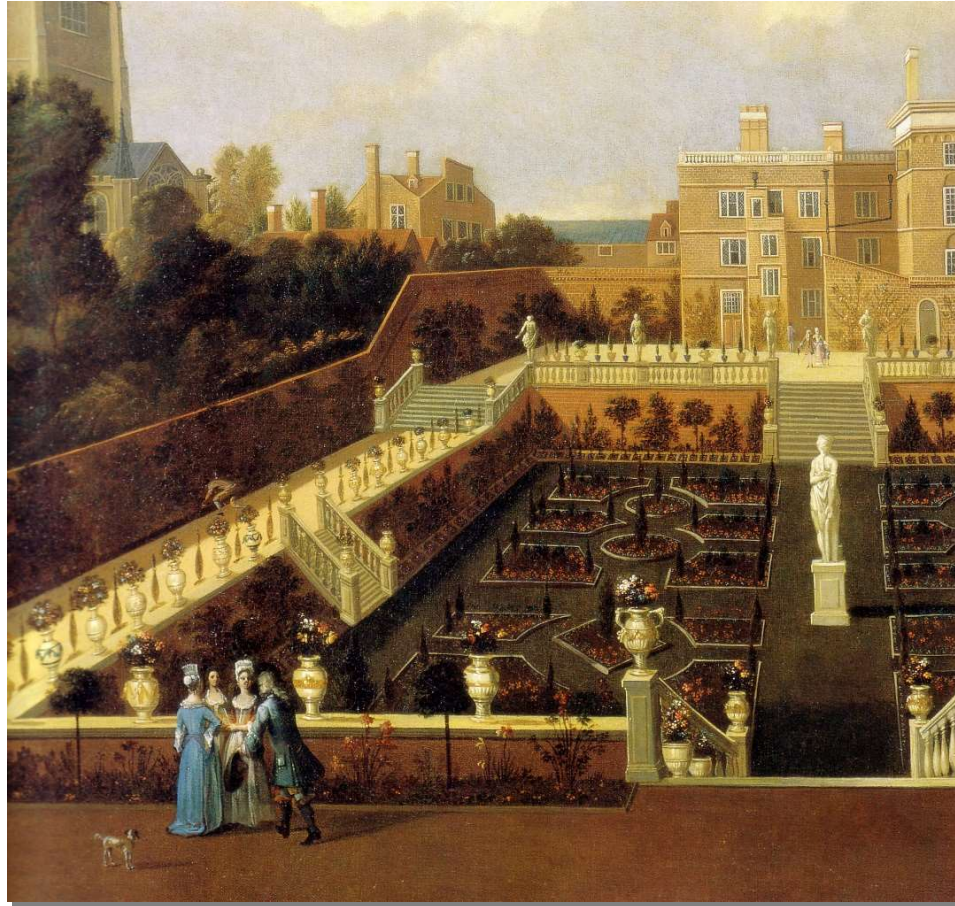


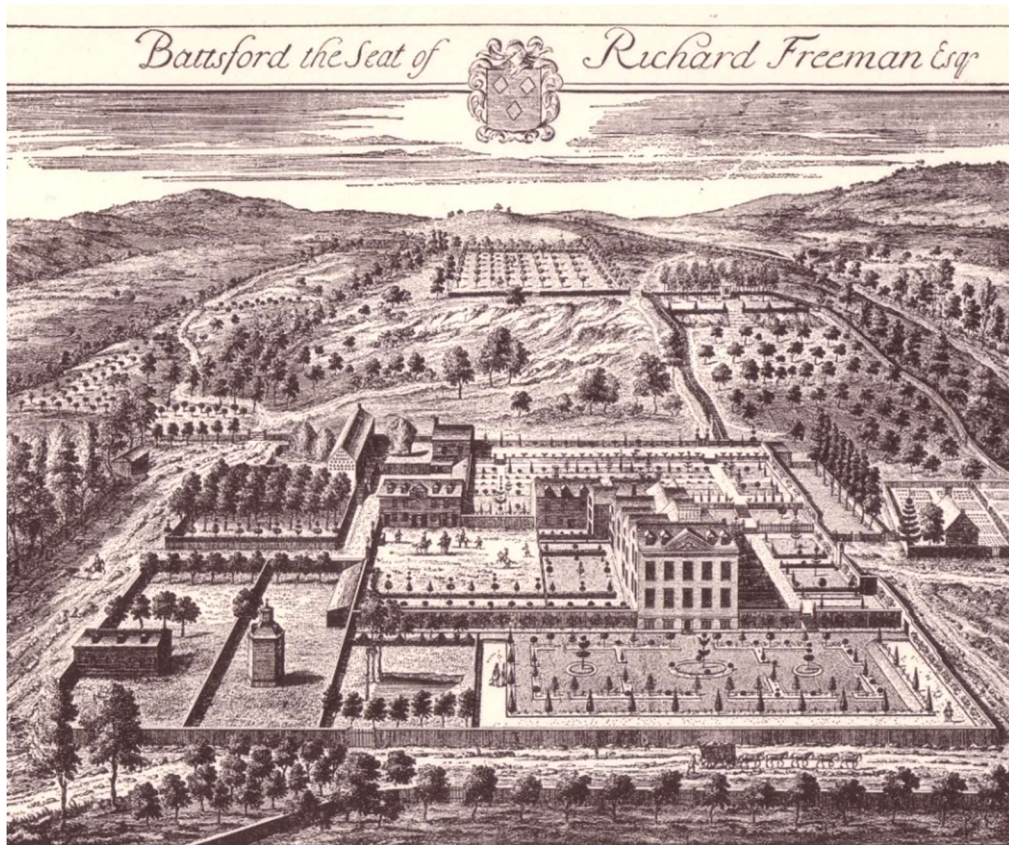
Figure 4.4 The Garden of Pierrepont House, Nottingham (unknown artist) (detail). Created in the 1690s, this garden contained conifers (the shape of juniper or cypress) planted in a formal manner in each of the corners of the flower beds, a style of planting seen in other gardens of this time.¹⁹⁵

Sir Robert Atkyns's, *The Ancient and Present State of Glostershire* (1712), and Sir Henry Chauncy's, *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (1700), also clearly depicted gardens at this time, many of which were still medieval in style, being divided up into enclosed areas and containing many of the same features.

From the writings and illustrations of this period, it is apparent that conifers were being used for topiary and *hortulan* architecture, particularly ornamental hedges. It is also evident that the species predominantly being used for such purposes, in ever-increasing numbers, were

¹⁹⁵ An example being in Robert Thacker's garden at Longford Castle, in the 1680s.

yew, Italian cypress, and juniper.¹⁹⁶ There is also no doubt that of the three species, it was yew that was used the most extensively, and as Hadfield has argued, it was 'the tree on which British topiary exists'.¹⁹⁷ In almost all the gardens of the time, topiary was included, with an extravagant example being in the garden of Batsford, Gloucestershire (Figure 4.5). In gardens such as these, it appears that very few trees or evergreen shrubs were allowed to grow in their natural form, as most were managed in some way by being clipped or pruned.



**Figure 4.5 Batsford, Gloucestershire,
from Sir Robert Atkyns' *The Ancient and Present State of Glostershire* (1712).
This garden displayed an extravagant use of topiary.**

A rare example of trees being used not only ornamentally but also possibly as a collection is evident in an illustration of Sir Ralph Freeman's garden at Aspeden, Hertfordshire. Sir Ralph was a keen plantsman who collected and grew many florist's flowers but also numerous conifers. To have such a collection would have been unusual at this time, as the fashion for *Pineta*, so favoured and prominent in the Victorian era, was well over a century away. Large

¹⁹⁶ Various junipers are listed by Evelyn which are incorrectly, and confusingly, named by him.

¹⁹⁷ Hadfield (1971), p. 17.

areas of the garden (on the left in the illustration) were devoted to these trees, with the manner of their planting being in formal regimental rows (Figure 4.6). There is no documentary evidence

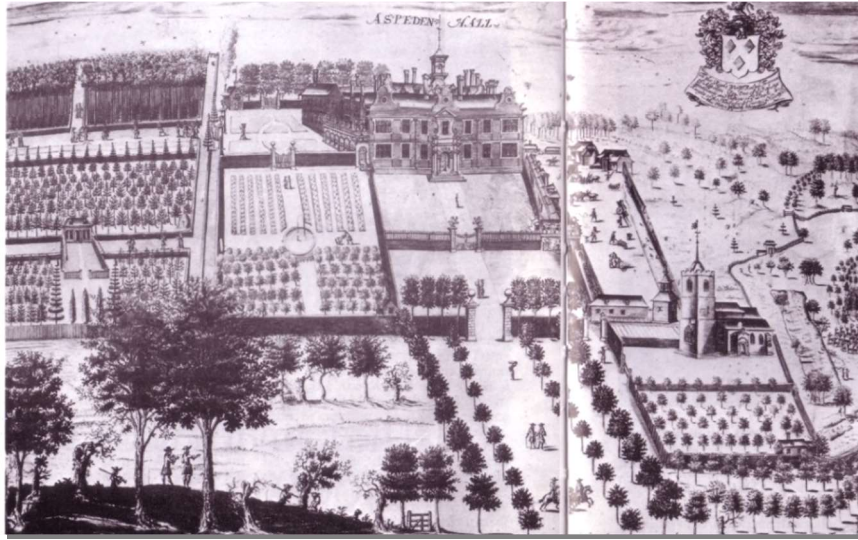


Figure 4.6 Aspeden Hall, Hertfordshire, the home of Sir Ralph Freeman.
Illustration by John Drapentier, from Sir Henry Chauncy's *The Historical Antiquities of Hertfordshire* (1700).
A large collection of conifers is clearly depicted and in a manner that was unusual for gardens of this period.

for which species were planted, but it would appear from the shape of the trees that the larger ones (top left) were a pine species and the pyramidal trees a spruce, and yew being used for the hedges and topiary. The trees were clearly being managed with the pines having had their lower branches removed, leaving a bare trunk to a considerable height.

A very informative account of gardens of this time was contained in John James's, translation of Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville's *La Théorie et la pratique du jardinage* (1712). His description of conifers conveys not only an appreciation of their aesthetic qualities but also where they were suitable for use in gardens. He considered the yew as 'one of the finest' evergreens, the 'pitch tree' not so handsome, the fir tree 'fit only for woods and forest', and the cypress 'a very beautiful tree'.¹⁹⁸ It is also evident that 'Greenes' (which included conifers) all played 'an important part in Restoration gardens', and their use was firmly established.¹⁹⁹

¹⁹⁸ As quoted by Hadfield (1971), p. 35. John James, *The Theory and Practice of Gardening* (1712) being a translation of: *La Théorie et la pratique du jardinage*, by Antoine-Joseph Dezallier d'Argenville (1680–1765), in which illustrations of examples of their use are included.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 28. In addition to conifers, 'Greenes' included evergreen shrubs such as: *Phillyrea* (1597); *Buxus sempervirens* — box; *Laurus nobilis* — bay (various dates, the earliest being 1300); *Ilex aquifolium* — holly; *Prunus laurocerasus* — cherry

By the first decade of the eighteenth century, and still in the lifetime of London and Wise, formal gardens were becoming old-fashioned, and as designs altered, the manner in which conifers were used for ornamental purposes also began to change. When James died in 1746, the woods and groves described by him as 'All that is noble and agreeable in the garden'²⁰⁰ were being swept away in favour of fashionable landscape gardens. These changes often occurred over several decades, as is evident at Chatsworth from a print dated 1748 (Figure 4.7), in a painting by Thomas Smith of Derby, 'Chatsworth House', c. 1743, and in the estate's archives. From these, Deborah, Duchess of Devonshire, noted that from the 1730s, 'the undoing of the old layout was begun in earnest, [with] 2,200 trees being felled' and that there was also a bill for 'stubbing up all of the Fir Trees'.²⁰¹

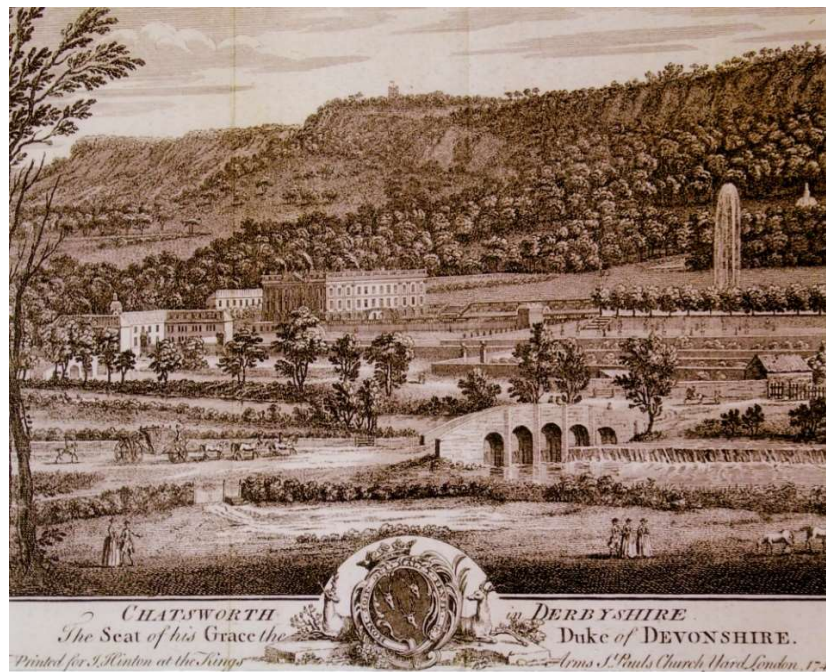


Figure 4.7 Engraving, Chatsworth House and Garden (1748).
By this time, many of the formal conifer plantings of the seventeenth-century garden had been removed.

4.3.5. The ornamental use of conifers in seventeenth-century Lake District gardens

By this century, times were relatively more peaceful and prosperous in the Lake District, with the wool trade helping landowners and local tenant farmers to prosper. The more settled times also

laurel (1576); *Viburnum tinus* (Laurustinus) (late sixteenth century); and *Prunus lusitanica* — Portugal laurel (1648).
²⁰⁰ As quoted in: Jacques and Horst (1988), p. 154.
²⁰¹ Deborah, Duchess of Devonshire, *The Garden at Chatsworth* (London: 1999), p. 26.

enabled families to transform their fortified homes into more elegant mansions, which, and probably for the first time, included having fashionable gardens.²⁰² Two of the most notable gardens created in this century were at Levens Hall and at Lowther.²⁰³ Of the two, Lowther was the grandest and equal to those being created in the south of the country, as is evident in the engraving of the garden contained in *Britannia Illustrata* (1707–09) (Figure 4.8). Although it is not

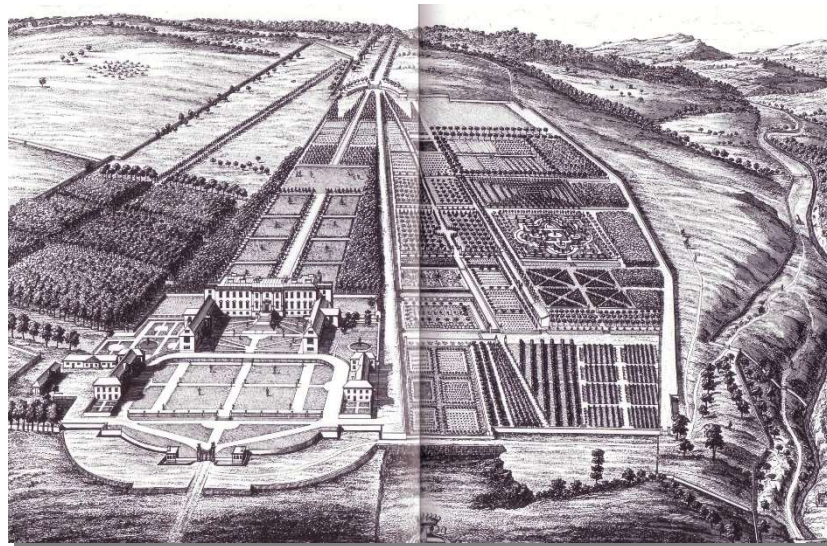


Figure 4.8 'Lowther in the County of Westmorland and the Seat of the Rt. Honorable the Lord Viscount Lonsdale, Lord Privy Seal and one of his Majesty's Most Honourable Privy Council'. Engraving by Johannes Knyff and Leonard Knyff from *Britannia Illustrata* (1707–09).

known who designed this garden, it may have been by London and Wise, or certainly influenced by them, as it contains many of the same features favoured by them, including: great avenues and long vistas; symmetry and formality; and different elements such as a parterre, maze, and wilderness. Conifers, primarily yew, would have been used for creating many of these elements, particularly for living structural elements — *hortulan* architecture — such as ornamental hedges and topiary. In the eighteenth century, this garden suffered the same fate as many other formal seventeenth-century gardens, as it was swept away in favour of a fashionable landscape garden. The garden was created by the renowned landscape designer Lancelot Brown (c. 1715–83) for John Lowther, 1st Viscount Lonsdale.

²⁰² Architectural historians generally refer to the period between about 1650 and 1720 as 'the Great Rebuilding in Stone' which spread through the counties of Lancashire, Yorkshire, Cumberland and Westmorland and which started in earnest after the 1670s.

²⁰³ More frequently referred to today as Lowther Castle.

Compared with Lowther's, the garden created at Levens Hall was much smaller and less grand, but unlike the former, the design of the garden has remained unaltered and therefore gives a clearer idea of the conifer planting at this time.²⁰⁴ The park and gardens were laid out by Guillaume Beaumont between 1689 and 1712, and according to the garden historian Miles Hadfield have some of the oldest surviving topiary in the country.²⁰⁵ However, the topiary as it is seen today bears no resemblance to the relatively small symmetrical shapes that would have been present in the seventeenth century, as over the centuries these have outgrown their original shape and evolved into quite extraordinary edifices (Figure 4.9). As a consequence,



Figure 4.9 Topiary, Levens Hall, Cumbria (2016). The style of the topiary today bears no resemblance to the garden's formal seventeenth-century topiary.

Leven's topiary has been variously commented on, including in *Veitch's Manual*, which stated: 'the topiary foible of our horticultural predecessors is still maintained in all its quaint antagonism to Nature',²⁰⁶ and in 1901 by the architect and garden designer, Sir Reginald Blomfield, who described it as 'curious cut work', a 'deliberate copy of a Dutch model', and 'a little childish',

²⁰⁴ In about 1808, the gardener of the time, Mr Forbes 'repaired the ravages which the vogue for the romantic had made at the end of the eighteenth century'. Hadfield (1971), p. 38.

²⁰⁵ Ibid., pp. 38–39.

²⁰⁶ *Veitch's* (1881), p. 300.

although he still included an illustration of the topiary garden in his book, *The Formal Garden in England* (1892).²⁰⁷

4.4. Conclusion

Prior to the fifteenth century, the use of conifers in the country for ornamental purposes was virtually non-existent. The reason for this was twofold: there were few suitable gardens and few available species. In the sixteenth century, with more settled times and growing prosperity, gardens began to be created, but these were still few in numbers, as they belonged to only a small percentage of the population — royalty or the wealthy aristocratic elite. However, it was in these gardens, such as Hampton Court's, that conifers first began to be used for ornamental purposes. This was developed further during the seventeenth century when the aesthetic rather than utilitarian characteristics of individual conifer species began to be recognized and appreciated. These characteristics were then written about by notable figures of the time, including Sir Thomas Hanmer and Sir John Evelyn. Although the number of different species being planted was still mainly limited to cypress, Norway spruce, and yew, these trees were planted in considerable numbers. The establishing of yew for topiary and hedges was also particularly significant as this method of using these trees came to be admired or disliked by successive generations.

Although the use of conifers had increased significantly by the seventeenth century — evident from the gardens of Wilton and Cassiobury — this was not the case in Bowness. This was the consequence of no notable gardens being created in which conifers could be planted. The lack of conifer planting was therefore due to a paucity of suitable gardens rather than suitable trees. This is apparent because where gardens had been created (outside the area of this research), such as at Lowther and Levens Hall, the use of conifers, particularly yew for topiary, was similar to that in gardens in other areas of the country.

²⁰⁷ Reginald Blomfield and F. Inigo Thomas, *The Formal Garden in England* (London: 1892), facsimile edn (London: 1985), p. 72.

5. Garden styles and ornamental use of conifers in eighteenth-century gardens

5.1. Introduction

This section investigates the continuing development of gardens and the use of conifers both in the country and in Bowness. This includes analysing which species of conifers were predominantly planted and the manner in which they were used for ornamental purposes. An examination is also made with regard to how this may have altered from the previous century, owing to changes in garden design and attitudes towards the natural landscape. In relation to the latter, special attention is paid to how the perception of the aesthetic qualities of conifers was influenced by the changes in the cultural attitudes of the day, evident in the picturesque and Romantic movements.

5.2. Neoclassical Arcadias and English landscape gardens

By around 1725, the baroque style in the arts gave way to the rococo,²⁰⁸ which in turn was replaced by a classical revival known as neoclassicism. An interest in classical Greece and Rome, particularly the architecture of these periods, was driven by the new science of archaeology and the excavation of sites such as Herculaneum in 1738 and Pompeii in 1748.²⁰⁹ By the mid-eighteenth century, the 'Grand Tour' had also become well established, enabling wealthy aristocratic young men to become immersed in classical antiquity. Returning to England, they wished to create and live in a neoclassical environment, albeit a more updated version. The landscape paintings they had seen or collected by painters such as Claude and Poussin not only inspired them to create similar landscapes in England but also led to the emergence of 'a distinctive tradition of landscape painting in England, [...] the subtle re-ordering of nature for aristocrat patrons in imitation of the classical landscapes of seventeenth-century painters like Claude Lorrain'.²¹⁰

Neoclassicism flourished in England 'as a reaction to what some architectural purists came to see as the vulgarity of the Baroque'²¹¹ and the 'decorative priorities of the Rococo'.²¹²

²⁰⁸ A style very prevalent in France, Bavaria, and Russia but not in England.

²⁰⁹ Glancey (2006), p. 342.

²¹⁰ Cumming (2005), p. 243.

²¹¹ Ibid., p. 250.

²¹² Glancey (2006), p. 342.

The change to neoclassicism in the arts occurred at a time when the Age of Reason — also known as the Enlightenment — developed. Underlying this was the 'belief that human reason would resolve political and religious dilemmas', thus alleviating much of the ills of the world such as tyranny and slavery. There was also an emphasis on the pursuit of happiness, which manifested itself in many ways, including in landscape gardening.²¹³

The change in garden styles did not occur instantaneously but occurred gradually from the beginning of the eighteenth century. Formal designs, with symmetry prevailing, began to be replaced by more informal styles. These had curving lines and irregular designs, and with no obvious boundaries between the garden and the wider landscape (achieved by the innovation of the ha-ha²¹⁴). French influences on garden design decreased, and Italian influences increased. This was primarily because Italy was the preferred destination of young aristocrat gentlemen whilst on their grand tours. Whilst visiting this country the decaying grandeur of Renaissance gardens, such as Pratolino's in Tuscany (Figure 5.1), made such an impression



Figure 5.1 Pratolino by Stefano della Bella (1650s). This garden was created between 1569 and 1581, but unlike in the sixteenth century, many of the conifers seen in the eighteenth century, as depicted in this illustration, were now large mature trees.

that on their return to England, they wished to emulate these gardens on their own estates.

However, many of the conifers they saw in these gardens, rather than being in their original

²¹³ Cumming (2005), p. 219.

²¹⁴ This is usually a retaining wall with a ditch that allows an unrestricted view out of the garden into the wider landscape whilst at the same time preventing animals from roaming into the garden from the fields beyond.

sixteenth-century formal clipped state, were now of a substantial size, as is evident in the illustration of Pratolino's garden. Observing how these trees looked may have influenced the manner in which they then grew them on their own estates, that is, allowing them to grow naturally rather than being kept formal by being regularly clipped.

5.3. Available conifers and their use

The conifers that were available in the first half of the eighteenth century, and their use in gardens, can be gleaned from various sources but primarily from books of the time and the illustrations they contained.²¹⁵ A very well-illustrated garden is that of Chiswick House, Middlesex, created by Richard Boyle (1694–1754), 3rd Earl of Burlington, the design of which was influenced by the gardens he saw whilst in Italy on his Grand Tour (Figure 5.2).²¹⁶ At the time this garden

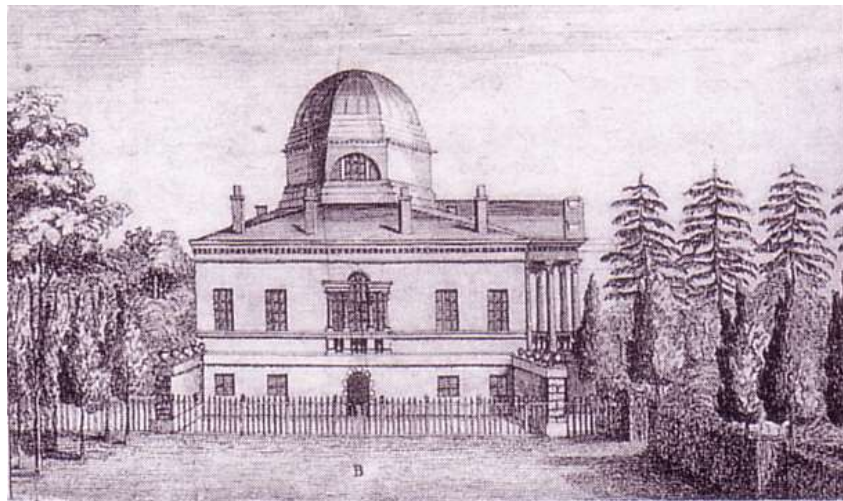


Figure 5.2 Side view of Chiswick House — designed in a Palladian style from John Rocque. Plan and views of Chiswick House, Middlesex, 1736 (detail).

was being designed, Alexander Pope exalted Boyle to 'Consult the Genius of the Place in all' when seeking inspiration for the design of the garden.²¹⁷ Boyle, who was a friend of Pope, was particularly infatuated by the work of the Italian Architect, Andrea Palladio (1508–80) and consequently had his home rebuilt in the Palladian style. His garden, and other gardens of a

²¹⁵ Written sources include various nursery catalogues, for which see Harvey, *Early Gardening Catalogues* (London and Chichester: 1972) and *Early Nurserymen* (London and Chichester: 1974).

²¹⁶ Although authors are not agreed as to the extent of this influence, see Roy Strong, *The Artist and the Garden* (New Haven & London: 2000), p. 203, and 'An Enigmatic Arcadia: Chiswick House' (2000), pp. 201–11. Burlington first visited Italy in 1714, and on a second visit in 1719 he went to the gardens of the villa Borghese in Rome and those of Mondragone and Aldobrandini at Frascati.

²¹⁷ 'Consult the Genius of the Place in all' from Alexander Pope's, *An Epistle to the Right Honourable Richard Earl of Burlington; Occasion'd by his publishing Palladio's Designs of the baths, arches, theatre, &c. of ancient Rome* (London: 1731).

similar date, initially incorporated Renaissance formality and elements of *hortulan* architecture that still included seventeenth-century French features such as *allées* created from yew, and which are clearly depicted in the painting of Hartwell House, Buckinghamshire c. 1738 (Figure 5.3). However, under the influence of Pope and the garden designer and artist, William Kent (c. 1685–1748), who considered garden design to be a form of landscape painting, Chiswick's

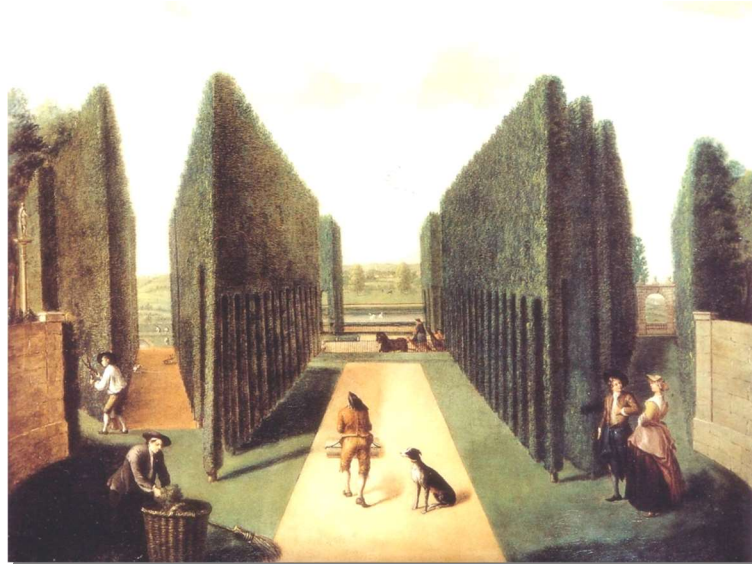


Figure 5.3 Hartwell House, Buckinghamshire by Balthasar Nebot. c. 1738 showing 'Hortulan architecture' such as *allées* were still fashionable.

garden began to include more informal features both in the hard landscaping and in the plantings.²¹⁸ The addition of informality is apparent from a plan and views of the garden by John Rocque (1736), which clearly depicts winding paths amidst formal avenues.²¹⁹ From the various views illustrated, it is also evident that conifers were planted both formally and informally, with Italian cypresses in formal rows and other conifers randomly mixed with deciduous, broad-leaved trees (Figure 5.2).

5.4. The development of less formal designs

More informality in garden design was also advocated by Stephen Switzer (1682–1745), who, in his *Iconographica Rustica* (1718), introduced the concept of 'forest gardening' or 'rural gardening'. Switzer also gave himself credit for introducing *Ferme ornées* (ornamental farms), which were later developed (or introduced) by Philip Southcote (1699–1768) and William

²¹⁸ Timothy Mowl, *William Kent* (London: 2006).

²¹⁹ See Strong (2000), p. 202, for a reproduction of this plan.

Shenstone (1714–62).²²⁰ As a consequence of their work, and for the first time, the landscape was being seen as an asset rather than something unpleasant that had to be excluded from view. As a consequence, a fundamental change took place in that it was no longer considered necessary to tame nature but rather to embrace all things natural. The Whig politician and art historian Horace Walpole (1717–97) noted that Kent had 'leap'd the fence and saw that all nature was a garden'.²²¹

Although the change in garden style had resulted in many of the conifers in formal gardens having been felled and grubbed up, they were also being planted. This is apparent from illustrations of the time such as by Kent for Chatsworth, Carlton House, London, and Claremont, Kent (Figures 5.4 & 5.6). From these illustrations, it is apparent that conifers were being used to frame garden features such as classically inspired buildings and were planted

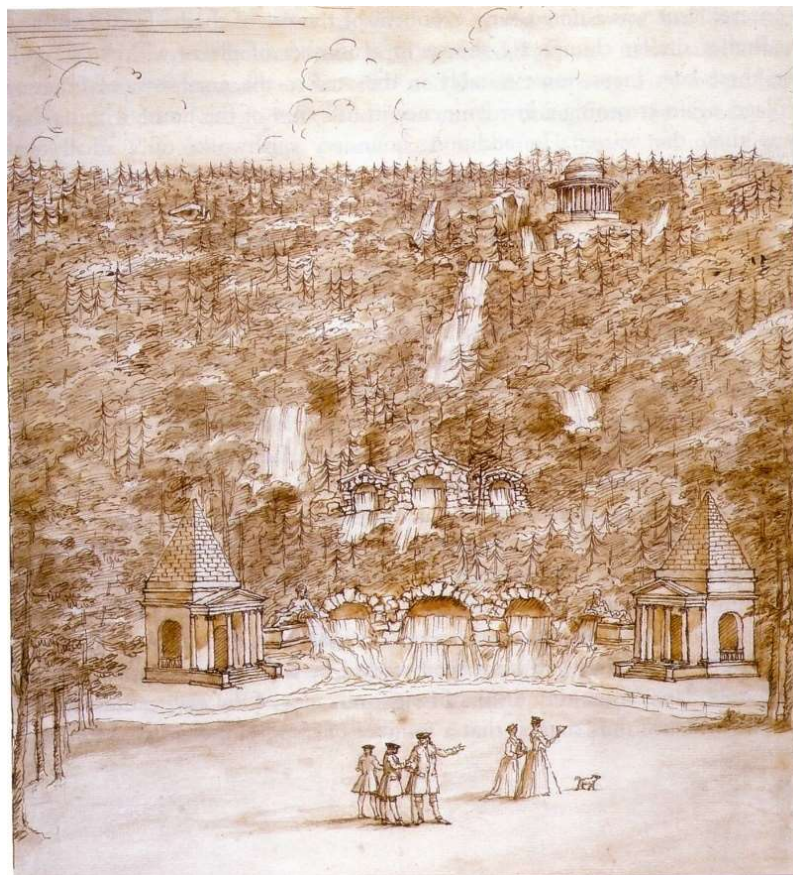


Figure 5.4 William Kent — Design for a Cascade at Chatsworth, Derbyshire (undated), with conifers in mixed plantings all the way up the hillside.

²²⁰ Timothy Mowl, *Gentlemen and Players* (Stroud: 2000), pp. 79–135.

²²¹ As quoted by Turner, *British Gardens* (2013), p. 237.

informally in groups of the same species or in mixed plantings (Figures 5.5 & 5.6). For the former



Figure 5.5 William Kent, design for the *Bagnio* at Carlton House, London (undated), with the sweeping branches of conifers depicted on either side.



Figure 5.6 William Kent, planting design for around the Temple at Claremont, Kent (late 1730s). Conifers were clearly included for planting around this building, their shape and colour being used to enhance the architecture.

purpose, yews were often planted, as it was thought their dark foliage highlighted the architecture of buildings, whilst at the same time obscuring them from a distance. The latter was considered desirable because these buildings were not meant to be seen all at once; instead, a visitor had to come across them one by one, and with an element of surprise. There is still evidence for this type of planting today in the garden of Stowe, Buckinghamshire, where Kent was also involved with the design of the garden for Richard Temple (1675–1749), 1st Viscount Cobham. Whilst there is no written evidence to show which conifers were planted, or the manner of their plantings, an assumption can be made that they were similar to those depicted

in Kent's designs for other gardens, such as Claremont and Carlton House. This type of planting is still evident at Stowe, near the Temple of Ancient Virtue, although the cultivar 'Aurea' of Lawson cypress is a Victorian or later addition (behind and to the right of the temple, Figure 5.7). Kent's tree plantings, which included conifers, did not meet with universal approval with,



Figure 5.7 The Temple of Ancient Virtue, Stowe, Buckinghamshire (2013), designed by William Kent (c. 1730). Around and behind such buildings, evergreens, particularly yew, were frequently planted, but Lawson's cypress 'Aurea' (behind and to the right of the temple today) would not have been present, as it was not introduced until the nineteenth century.

Walpole being particularly critical:

His clumps were puny, he aimed at immediate effect, and planted not for futurity. One sees no large woods sketched out by his direction. Nor are we yet entirely risen above a too great a frequency of small clumps [...] How common to see three or four beeches, then as many larches, a third knot of cypresses, and a revolution of all three.²²²

With the inclusion of the ha-ha, gardens were now firmly outward looking, with nothing interrupting the view between the house and the distant landscape, and this in turn led to a considerable increase in their size and the use of the 'borrowed' landscape to create visas.²²³ The expansion of gardens into parkland, or the inclusion of parkland into gardens,

²²² Horace Walpole, *Essay on Modern Gardening*, as quoted by Roger Turner, *Capability Brown and the Eighteenth-century English Landscape*, 2nd edn (Chichester: 1999), p. 89.

²²³ The expansion in the size of gardens was a direct result of the Enclosure Acts, which enabled landowners to enclose open fields and common land, in all amounting to approximately 6.8 million acres.

enabled the planting of many thousands of trees that, together with the introduction of many new species, both broad-leaved deciduous and coniferous particularly from North America, led to a number of notable tree collections being established.²²⁴

One of the most exceptional collections was Lord Petre's (1714–43) at Thorndon Hall, Essex, where 200,000 trees were planted, including thirty species of conifer, of which around ten were pines.²²⁵ When Petre ordered seeds from John Bartram in North America, through the London merchant Peter Collinson, his order always included 'all sorts of pines thee can get'. The achievements of Petre at Thorndon have been described as 'truly remarkable', and in his own lifetime he was hailed by Peter Collinson as the most innovative gardener of his age, primarily for the manner of his plantings (Figure 5.8).²²⁶ Another notable conifer collection of the time was

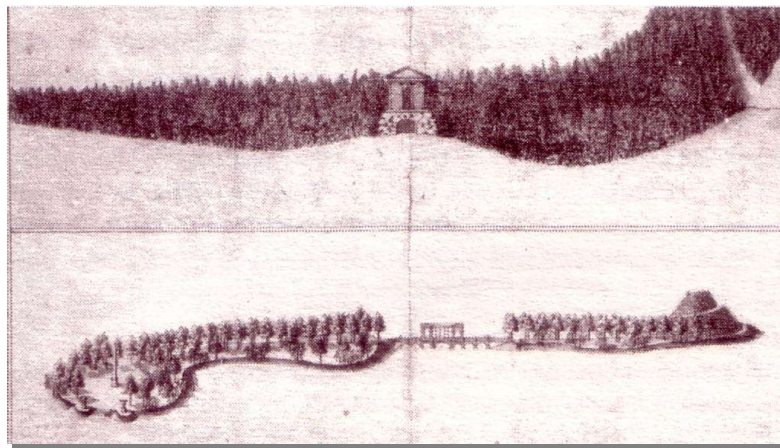


Figure 5.8 Lord Petre's naturalistic design for tree plantings (detail) with large numbers of conifers planted as a back drop to the temple building (top).

Charles Hamilton's at Painshill, Kent, as the garden historian Michael Symes commented: 'the firs, pines and other conifers attracted more attention than any other category' and that when Charles von Linnaeus was visiting the garden in 1781, he declared that, 'a greater variety of the fir was to be found on this spot than in any other part of the world he had ever seen'.²²⁷

By the latter half of the eighteenth century, very little formality remained in gardens either in their design or in their plantings. Nature and the bucolic idyll of Arcadian Italian landscapes depicted in the work of seventeenth-century painters were now seen as something to be

²²⁴ Mainly North American deciduous broad-leaved species, including 900 tulip trees (*Liriodendron tulipifera*).

²²⁵ Lord Petre also drew up extensive plans for a landscape garden at Worksop, Nottingham for the Duke of Norfolk.

²²⁶ By Peter Collinson, as quoted by Andrea Wulf, *The Brother Gardeners* (London: 2009), p. 92.

²²⁷ Michael Symes, 'A.B. Lambert and the Conifers at Painshill', *Garden History* vol. 16, no. 1 (Spring, 1988), p. 24.

emulated.²²⁸ An example of a 'painting realized'²²⁹ was the classical Arcadian garden at Stourhead, Wiltshire, belonging to the banker Henry Hoare II (1705–85), which was laid out between 1741 and 1780 (Figure 5.9).²³⁰ Despite many conifers, particularly *Pinus pinea* — stone



Figure 5.9 Stourhead, Wiltshire, influenced by a Claude Lorraine painting, and emulating an Arcadian idyll with Virgilian iconography. Few conifers are depicted, with the exception being a specimen on the left. Shades of green with no other colour was thought desirable at this time.

pine being depicted in these paintings, they were not realized in plantings in England.²³¹ Only occasionally were conifers planted for ornament and, as at Stourhead (as depicted in the painting in Figure 5.9), often only as a single specimen tree.

5.5. English landscape gardens: 1750s to 1820s

At the same time as Arcadian gardens were being created, many more landscape gardens without classical references were being undertaken, most notably by Lancelot Brown (1716–83). The features Brown invariably included in his landscape designs — but which were all nuanced for where he was working — were: parkland being surrounded by a belts of trees; clumps of trees in the open landscape; a lake in the middle ground (frequently serpentine in shape so as to resemble a natural lake); smooth, undulating, mown, or grazed grassland that frequently came right up to the house; the occasional eye-catcher (a building or other structure, but which

²²⁸ Artists included Claude Lorraine (1600–82) referred to as Claude, Salvator Rosa (1615–73), Nicolas Poussin (1594–1665), and Gaspard Dughet (1615–75).

²²⁹ Mowl (2000), p. xi.

²³⁰ Roger Turner (1985), p. 32. Claude Lorraine's *Coast View of Delos with Aeneas* is thought to have inspired the design of the Pantheon at Stourhead. The various temples contained quotations from Virgil.

²³¹ Stone pine is a typical Mediterranean tree and was introduced into Britain as early as the 1500s.

no longer made reference to classical Greek or Roman culture); and the banishing of flowers and flower gardens altogether, or to a part of the garden where they could not be seen from the house.²³²

Whilst thousands of trees were planted in Brown's landscape gardens, there is a scarcity of documentary evidence to show which conifer species he planted. His likes and dislikes are, however, reasonably well known, including his preference for native rather than exotic trees. According to one of his biographers, Jane Brown, he 'happily used larch as a "nurse" tree; spruce, yew and holly for the dark understorey'²³³ and was against The Society of Arts 'logging' scheme', which encouraged landowners to plant thousands of softwoods for commercial purposes.²³⁴ As Brown is thought to have been introduced to the aesthetics of trees in landscapes from having read Evelyn's *Sylva*, this may explain why he used so few species. This is because the number available in Evelyn's lifetime was very limited, and Brown had died before the 'New Edition' of Evelyn's book was published in 1787, which included new introductions, such as *Pinus strobus* L. — Weymouth pine.²³⁵ Unlike Petre, Brown appears to have ignored most conifer introductions, including those of the first half of the century. There was, however, one exception, the long-established and much admired cedar of Lebanon. This tree was included in most, if not all, of Brown's designs, making it his 'signature tree'.²³⁶

With regard to tree planting, Brown undoubtedly favoured a manner appropriate for the locality and, as recommended by William Shenstone, 'without any seeming order, or visible interference of art'.²³⁷ But behind this naturalness, the plantings were very contrived with 'a bold and generous manner' being used on distant hills (and on the perimeters of estates) but which consisted of very few species, one being Norway spruce. In contrast, there were very few plantings on the flat ground nearer to the house in order to maintain long views in various

²³² Thomas Whately, *Observations on Modern Gardening* (1770) as quoted in Turner p. 79. No page reference given.

²³³ Jane Brown, *The Omnipotent Magician — Lancelot 'Capability' Brown 1716–1783* (London: 2011), p. 273.

²³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 141–43. The Society for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures and Commerce was founded in 1745 as a forum for discussion and for publishing papers on a wide range of social and economic policies. Lancelot Brown became a member in 1760. Concern over the lack of timber led to their encouraging tree planting by giving awards to those who planted the greatest number of trees for commercial purposes, which was thought to be a patriotic duty. Thomas White was 'a conifer consultant to a group of Midlands estates'.

²³⁵ Evelyn, *Sylva: of a Discourse of Forest-Trees, with Notes by A. Hunter* (1786).

²³⁶ Brown (2011), p. 80.

²³⁷ William Shenstone, *Unconnected Thoughts on Gardening* (1764) as quoted by Roger Turner (1999), p. 91. No reference given.

directions.²³⁸ How variety was achieved by Brown in different areas of the garden was described by the politician and commentator of the time, Thomas Whately, who noted: 'one is characterized by a grove; the next by clumps; and others by little groups or single tree: [...] The ground [...] is cast into an infinite number of elegant shapes, in every gradation from the most gentle slope, to a very precipitate fall: the trees also are of several kinds, and their shadow of various tints'.²³⁹ One of the few places where there is information on which, and in what numbers, conifers were planted by Brown was Sledmere House, Yorkshire.²⁴⁰ These included 300 yews, 358 silver firs, 500 Weymouth pines, 25,260 spruce, 122 'Scotch firs', and 54,430 larch. Of these trees, the huge number of larch and spruce that were planted indicates they were probably planted under the 'logging scheme' and were not the type of planting Brown normally favoured.²⁴¹

A painting of Chatsworth, by William Marlow after Brown had landscaped the garden, conveys the radical change that had occurred in its design since the seventeenth and the early eighteenth century (Figure 5.10). All elements of formality, with the exception of the cascade, have gone. Deciduous trees, planted informally and allowed to mature to their full height, have



Figure 5.10 Chatsworth, Derbyshire, by William Marlow c. 1770. This painting depicts Brown's transformed landscape soon after it was completed. Little remains of the formal seventeenth-century garden, and it is uncertain how many conifers were growing within the vicinity of the house at this time.

²³⁸ Shenstone (1764) as quoted by Turner (1999), p. 89.

²³⁹ As quoted by Brown (2011), p. 273.

²⁴⁰ A new house was constructed in 1752 for Sir Richard Sykes.

²⁴¹ Brown obtained his trees from a variety of nurseries, including Christopher Gray's and Leonard Meager's. He also obtained trees from North America through John Bartram's box schemes.

replaced many of the areas previously planted with clipped evergreens. Trees are also now grouped in clumps in the wider landscape to the south and west, and to the east 'bold and generous' plantings have been made on hill. But it is not possible from this painting to discern whether or not any conifers were planted. However, the accounts for 1758 reveal that amidst the thousands of trees that were planted, 2000 Scots pine were included, and probably even more Norway spruce.²⁴² Such large plantings were on the perimeter of the estate, well out of the garden and park areas although still in view of the house. It is also thought that one of the cedars of Lebanon (Brown's signature tree) in the arboretum today may date from this time.

Whilst landscape gardens were the dominant style in the second half of the eighteenth century, with Brown alone creating at least 170,²⁴³ there were a few instances where aspects of earlier designs, such as flower gardens, continued to be used. Two paintings by Paul Sanby (1731–1809) are exceptional in depicting the flower garden at Nuneham Courtney, Oxfordshire (Figures 5.11 & 5.12). Both these paintings indicate that a number of different conifer species had been planted, their shapes indicative of cypress, pine, and spruce trees, displaying more



Figures 5.11 The Flower Garden at Nuneham Courtney, (and over) by Paul Sandby (1777). This garden, laid out by William Mason for the 1st Earl of Harcourt, included many different conifers planted in innovative ways, with none being clipped.

²⁴² Chatsworth Archives, Chatsworth, Derbyshire. Unreferenced 'garden box' of various documents.

²⁴³ There appear to be differences between garden historians as to the exact number of gardens created by Brown, with anything up to 400 being quoted.



Figure 5.12 A number of different conifer species are evident in this illustration, including in the background around the temple, the narrow shape of cypresses, and a *Pinus* species, probably Scots pine, on the right in the foreground.

variety than in any of Brown's designs. The manner of their use is also revealing in that cypresses have been planted almost as punctuation marks, on their own and apart from other plants, with larger conifers planted on the perimeters and most particularly behind the statue and garden building at the end of vistas. Other illustrations of the time that also indicate the extent and manner of conifer plantings are contained in William Angus's, *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry* (1787). In one of these (Figure 5.13), conifers have been planted either side of the open



Figure 5.13 Combe Bank, Kent, from William Angus, *The Seats of the Nobility and Gentry* (1787). Conifers are clearly depicted on the left and right of the house, predominantly in mixed plantings.

lawned area and either side of the house. They are clearly a notable and obvious feature of the garden, and at least three different species are also evident, including a cedar on the right and (probably) a spruce on the left.

5.6. The influence of the picturesque movement on aesthetic attitudes towards conifers

Whilst Brown was still creating landscape gardens, a fundamental change occurred — driven primarily by a reaction against his designs — in the way landscapes, both natural and artificial, were being interpreted. Theories were proposed by the statesman, orator, and philosopher Edmund Burke (1729–97), and the country squires, Sir Uvedale Price (1747–1829) and Richard Payne Knight (1750–1824), as to how a landscape could be beautiful, picturesque, or sublime (although the distinctions they made between these is not always clear).²⁴⁴ In, *A Philosophical Enquiry into the Origin of our Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful* (1757), Burke stated that beauty could be equated with a landscape that was gentle and smooth, not rugged and wild, and one that conveyed a sense of tranquillity, and a pastoral, bucolic, idealized landscape as described in the classical writings of Virgil including his *Eclogues*. Such scenes were considered to have been conveyed in the seventeenth-century paintings of Claude. In contrast, Burke stated that a sublime landscape was one that induced a sense of awe and immensity or overwhelming grandeur as depicted in the paintings of Salvator Rosa (1615–73).²⁴⁵ Such scenes were also described as having 'savage grandeur', as appears in Dr John Daltons' *Descriptive Poem* (1755), of the Lodore falls in the Lake District.²⁴⁶

A picturesque landscape appears to have fallen somewhere between the beautiful and sublime, as is evident in two illustrations of the same scene by Benjamin Pouncey (after Thomas Hearne).²⁴⁷ In addition to the architectural style of the houses depicted in each of these being very different, the landscapes are also markedly dissimilar. The top illustration depicts the smoothness and neatness in a beautiful Brownian manicured and controlled landscape, whereas the bottom illustration depicts a picturesque landscape that is rough, wild, and

²⁴⁴ Turner (2013), p. 278, and they had different meanings, when applied to garden design, from their everyday definitions.

²⁴⁵ Michael Liversidge, University of Bristol Lecture (2008).

²⁴⁶ As quoted by Cecilia Powell and Stephen Hebron, *Savage Grandeur and Noblest Thoughts: Discovering the Lake District 1750–1820* (Grasmere: 2010), p. 1.

²⁴⁷ Mowl (2000), p. 174. In his *An Essay on the Picturesque* (1794), Uvedale Price stated the aesthetic quality of a picturesque landscape was midway between Burke's Sublime and Beautiful and distinct from both.

unkempt. However, it is not one that inspires dread or awe, or conveys an over-whelming sense of grandeur, which would then be a sublime landscape (Figures 5.14 & 5.15).



**Figures 5.14 & 5.15 'Benjamin Pouncey after Thomas Hearne'
from Richard Payne Knight, *The Landscape: A Didactic Poem* (1794)
'An undressed park' (above), 'A park dressed in the modern style' (below).²⁴⁸**



The person who has been described as: 'the father of the picturesque' was the Reverend William Gilpin.²⁴⁹ It has also been argued that he had the 'defining voice' on the picturesque and that his 'perceptions, definitions and directions on the truly Picturesque helped [to form] the theoretical substructure for both Uvedale Price and Payne Knight'.²⁵⁰ In 1768, Gilpin defined 'picturesque' as being 'a term expressive of that peculiar kind of beauty, which is agreeable in a picture'.²⁵¹ In this definition, he equates picturesque with beauty, the consequence of which is that 'his theories are not always clear' and that in formulating his views,

²⁴⁸ Stephen Daniels, *Humphry Repton* (New Haven and London: 2000), p. 112.

²⁴⁹ Mowl (2000), p. 164.

²⁵⁰ Ibid., pp. 164–65.

²⁵¹ William Gilpin, *An Essay on Prints* (London: 1768), p. 2.

he sometimes 'even tied himself up in knots'.²⁵² However, it was Gilpin who, and for the first time, informed the travelling public on how to observe and judge whether a scene before them was picturesque.²⁵³ He had based his opinions on the observations he had made of the British landscape whilst travelling around various parts of the country.²⁵⁴ On his travels, he observed not only landscapes but also the trees in these landscapes, and he came to the conclusion that they were 'the grandest and most beautiful of all the productions of the earth'.²⁵⁵ He then formulated aesthetic criteria by which trees could be judged picturesque, both individually and collectively, both in the natural landscape and in estate parks.²⁵⁶

Gilpin formulated his ideas by looking at trees growing in situ, which was a fundamental change in the way trees were viewed, as even landscape artists in the middle of the eighteenth century were still predominantly painting trees not from life but in their studios according to a strict eighteenth-century artistic formula. Such artists were described as 'running after pictures and seeking truth at second hand', because they directly copied the work of landscape painters such as Claude, Salomon van Ruisdael (1600–70), or Jacob van Ruisdael (1628–82).²⁵⁷ The depiction of trees was therefore very similar between those of the seventeenth-century landscape painters and those of the English landscape painters of the early to middle part of the eighteenth century.²⁵⁸ Both depicted large, billowy, softly contoured, and usually back-lit, trees, all difficult, if not impossible, to identify. The painting, *Landscape with Tobias and Angel* (undated) by Claude, is one such painting.

In his *Remarks on Forrest Scenery*, Gilpin thoroughly covered all aspects of the features that he considered constituted a picturesque tree.²⁵⁹ He concluded that without 'form,

²⁵² Powell and Hebron (2010), p. 31.

²⁵³ Mowl (2000), pp. 164–65.

²⁵⁴ Gilpin formulated his ideas on his first trip to the River Wye and South Wales in 1770, but his book, based on these travels, *Observations on the River Wye and several parts of South Wales*, was not published until 1782, several years after his tour of the northern counties (kept at Oxford Bodleian Library MS Eng. misc. e. 488/1-8). He undertook this tour in 1772 from London to the northern counties, which included Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Northamptonshire, Leicestershire, Oxfordshire, Westmorland, and Cumberland.

²⁵⁵ William Gilpin, *Remarks on Forest Scenery, and other Woodland Views (Relative chiefly to Picturesque Beauty: Illustrated by the Scenes of New-Forest in Hampshire In Three Books*. Book 1, 2nd edn (London: 1794), p. 1.

²⁵⁶ In relation to his criteria by which a landscape could be judged picturesque, see William Gilpin, *Essay on Picturesque Beauty* (London: 1792).

²⁵⁷ John Constable in a letter to John Dunthorne, 29 May 1802. As quoted in John Sunderland, *Constable* (London: 1970).

²⁵⁸ Cumming, *Art* (2005), p. 244.

²⁵⁹ Gilpin (1794), p. 6. To illustrate his ideas aquatint paintings were included, although these were not executed by Gilpin, but 'very masterly' by 'Mr. Alkin', p. 1.

lightness, and a proper balance, no tree can have that species of beauty, which we call picturesque'. He also considered a tree could be picturesque due to where it grew, giving an example of a tree on a rocky crag (Figure 5.16). After having formulated his ideas on their

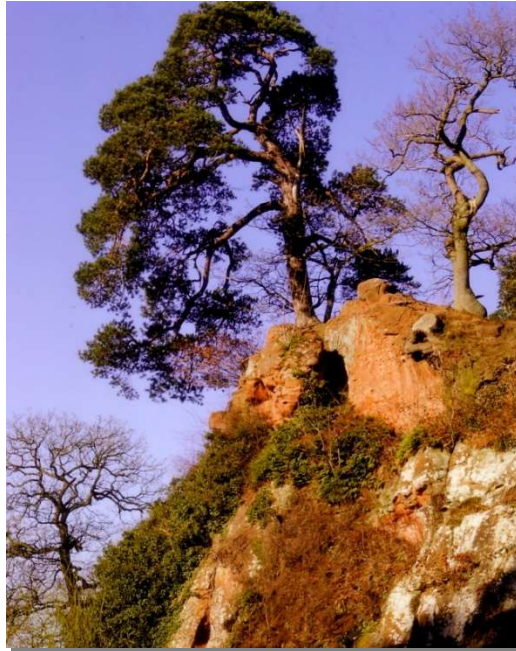


Figure 5.16 *Pinus sylvestris* L. — Scots pine, Hawkstone Park, Shropshire (2008). According to Gilpin a tree hanging from a rock 'may be beautiful' (picturesque).

overall picturesque qualities, Gilpin examined the characteristics of individual species to see whether or not they conformed to his picturesque principles. He discussed thirty-seven species, which included ten conifers.²⁶⁰ This was a small number, as by this time 130 species had been introduced into Britain. This was probably because, not being a gardener or botanist, he was unfamiliar or not able to identify most of these trees. His comments on the conifers he included were also quite limited, although it is clear that, like Brown, he approved of the cedar of Lebanon, as he stated, 'to it pre-eminence belongs'. He was however less than complimentary about the larch, describing it as a 'puny inhabitant of a garden [...] the character of the grand and noble seldom belong to it'.²⁶¹

From his writings, it is apparent that Gilpin had a preference for native deciduous trees.²⁶²

²⁶⁰ For a complete account of his conifer descriptions, see *Remarks* (1794), pp. 76–100.

²⁶¹ Gilpin, *Remarks* (1794), p. 100.

²⁶² Gilpin, *Observations* (1782), p. 9.

This is evident from when he argued that whilst other trees have their beauty, such as the pine of Italy, 'hanging over a broken pediment of some ruined temple', he considered no other tree in the forest was 'adapted to all the purposes of landscape, like English Oak'. If the oak was old, then so much the better, as all old trees appear to have been admired for their variety and individuality by 'all the theorists of the Picturesque'.²⁶³ This appreciation of ancient trees, particularly oaks, led to many being portrayed in paintings such as those by the painter Thomas Hearne (1744–1817) (Figure 5.17).



Figure 5.17 'An Oak Tree' by Thomas Hearne (1744–1817), c. 1786.

Through his detailed analysis of the qualities of trees, Gilpin came to the conclusion that they were 'the foundation of all scenery'. As a consequence, he wrote at great length on the use of trees in the landscape, particularly parkland, which he considered was 'one of the noblest appendages of a great house'.²⁶⁴ He concluded that in relation to the size and grandeur of the house, 'one would wish to see trees as individuals which should be the most beautiful of their kind, elegant and well balanced'.²⁶⁵ Gilpin also extolled the virtue of obtaining variety when trees were planted in groups, and he gave examples of how this could be achieved. These included planting trees of different sizes and which could be 'more effectively

²⁶³ David Morris, *Thomas Hearne and his landscape* (London: 1989), p. 98.

²⁶⁴ Gilpin, *Remarks* (1794), p. 193.

²⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

occasioned by the inequalities of the ground', having an uneven canopy and the bases not being uniform (the canopy bases of trees were however frequently straight owing to being browsed by animals particularly deer), and mixing evergreen and deciduous trees. In relation to the latter, he was very particular as to which conifers should be used:

Large bodies of firs also and other species of pines, have often a rich appearance in a distance among deciduous trees: but they must be Scotch-firs, pinasters, cluster pines, or other clump-headed trees. The spiry-headed race, the spruce fir, the silver fir and the Weymouth pine, have here too, as well as in the clump, a bad effect. Single they are sometimes beautiful; or two or three of them, here and there, by way of contrast, in large plantations, may be picturesque: but I think they are never so in large bodies.²⁶⁶

It is therefore evident, that for planting that was to be seen in the distance, Gilpin preferred round-topped conifers to those that had conical crowns.

When Gilpin visited the Lake District, as part of a journey he undertook in 1772 from London to the northern counties,²⁶⁷ he had not yet formulated his ideas on the features that constituted a picturesque tree.²⁶⁸ It is perhaps as a consequence of this that his writings contain no references to the picturesque merits of particular trees in the Lake District. However, he undoubtedly acknowledged the role they played in creating a picturesque scene. This is evident from his description of Lower Falls, Rydal, which he considered in 'every representation, truly picturesque'.²⁶⁹ Conversely, he particularly lamented the felling of numerous trees around the northern lakes and how 'before this depredation, the lake of Keswick was a glorious scene'.²⁷⁰

Although Gilpin never designed a garden himself, he may have influenced the most notable garden designer after Brown, Humphry Repton (1752–1818).²⁷¹ Repton continued with much of the same landscape features as advocated by Brown but with emphasis being placed

²⁶⁶ Gilpin, *Remarks* (1794), Section VIII, pp. 240–41.

²⁶⁷ Also, Yorkshire, Derbyshire, Northhamptonshire, Leicestershire and Oxfordshire.

²⁶⁸ Later published in: *Remarks on Forest Scenery* (1791).

²⁶⁹ Gilpin, *Observations*, Vol. II (1792), p. 162.

²⁷⁰ Gilpin, *Observations*, Vol. I (1786) Preface p. xi. As Gilpin explained, this had been the consequence of the Earl of Derwentwater siding with the Jacobite cause and having his lands forfeited after the rebellion of 1715 failed. The trustees of the new owner, the Greenwich Hospital, then had the trees felled and sold for £5300.

²⁷¹ Repton wrote that one of his guiding heroes was Gilpin. See Mowl (2000), p. 178. fn. 3. Daniels, *Humphrey Repton* (New Haven and London: 1999).

on 'the position of the house, its immediate surroundings, and distant prospects', as these were 'paramount'.²⁷² Repton was also aware that a garden should be practical as well as aesthetically pleasing: 'propriety and convenience are no less objects of good taste, than picturesque effect', and he was anxious to strike 'the happy medium between the wilderness and nature and the stiffness of art'.²⁷³

When seeking commissions, Repton presented potential clients with watercolours depicting various views of their garden.²⁷⁴ These had an overlay that enabled him to show the difference his design would make to their garden. They are also particularly helpful in indicating his choice of conifers and the manner of their planting. In two of his watercolours of the garden of Kenwood, Middlesex, a clear comparison can be made of his 'before' and 'after' suggestions for conifer plantings (Figure 5.19). The one without the overlay depicts a much fuller use of



Figures 5.18 & 5.19 Kenwood as illustrated by Humphry Repton in his Redbook (1793). View from the terrace, with overlay (top) and without (below).

²⁷² Patrick Taylor ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Garden*, 'Humphry Repton' (London: 2006), p. 405.

²⁷³ As quoted by Taylor, *ibid.*, p. 405.

²⁷⁴ Contained in red bound leather books and referred to as Repton's 'Red Books'.

use of conifers on the left and the removal of a single conifer in the centre, plus the addition of formality with the balustrade, and informal flower plantings. Repton was obviously not averse to planting conifers, but much like Brown, he may not have embraced the new arrivals or used many different species, and again like Brown, his choice appears to have been limited to Italian cypress, Scots pine, and Norway spruce. Although Repton is therefore not noted for his conifer plantings with his reintroducing flowers and ornamental features around the house, he had a pivotal role in influencing the change from the plain unfussy natural-looking landscapes of Brown to the overly ornate, often very fussy Victorian gardens.

5.7. The ornamental use and aesthetic appreciation of conifers in the Lake District in the eighteenth century

For the first half of the eighteenth century, the Lake District was considered a wild and desolate place, 'most barren and hostile', with impassable roads and bandits at every corner.²⁷⁵ As a consequence, the area was still relatively unknown and rarely visited by tourists or settled by 'offcomers'.²⁷⁶ The resident population was also small and their dwellings scattered, and compared with areas further the south in the country, there were few fashionable gardens with little or no planting of trees for ornamental purposes. Nor were there any significant landed estates within the Lake District, the closest being Lowther to the north-east of the area, owned by the Earl of Lonsdale.²⁷⁷ As a consequence, the majority of the land was farmland, with no parkland present in the area.

In the Lake District, tree planting therefore occurred either when existing properties were improved or when new ones were built. The latter took place mainly around the central lakes,²⁷⁸ examples of which included: the Calgarth estate, where Richard Watson, Bishop of Llandaff (1739–1816) built a new hall replacing a much older building; and a classically inspired circular house built on Belle Isle, designed by the architect John Plaw and built for Thomas English in 1774

²⁷⁵ Daniel Defoe considered the Lake District's landscape to be 'the wildest and most barren and frightful of any that [he had] passed over in England' (see *A Tour Through the Whole Island of Great Britain* (1724)), but there is some doubt as to whether or not he visited all the places he described. See Ian Thompson, *The English Lakes* (London: 2010), p. 19.

²⁷⁶ Early visitors to the Lake District included the antiquary John Leland, the antiquary and topographer William Camden in the sixteenth century, and Celia Fiennes in 1689. 'Offcomer' is the Cumbrian word for people who are not locals, but have moved into the Lake District from elsewhere in the country.

²⁷⁷ Lancelot Brown drew up a plan for Lowther's garden in 1763, and again around 1771; see Roger Turner, (1999), 'Gazetteer of Brown's Works', p. 183.

²⁷⁸ See Angus Winchester, ed. *England's Landscape — The North West* (London: 2006), Map: 'The Lake District before 1830', 'The focus on the central lakes (from Bassenthwaite to Windermere) and Ullswater is striking', p. 201.

(who was 'severely criticised for his awful taste'²⁷⁹), and a substantial 'handsome mansion' built on the Storrs estate in the 1790s for Sir John Legard, a Yorkshire landowner.²⁸⁰ Similar to elsewhere in the country, gardens and parkland were seen as an essential adjunct to many of these new homes, helping to give the owner status and prestige. However, despite these homes being built, Bowness remained undeveloped, being little more than a fishing village in 1788 (Figure 5.20).²⁸¹ There was also no town of Windermere, railway station, or connecting branch line.



Figure 5.20 Map of the Lake District (detail) from Thomas West's Guide (1778). The Storrs Estate is situated on the border with Lancashire, and the estates of Rayrigg and Calgarth are also indicated (X).

5.7.1. The growth of tourism in the Lake District

During the second half of the eighteenth century, there was a growing realization that

²⁷⁹ Rob Talbot and Robin Whiteman, *The English Lakes* (London: 1997), p. 98. In his poem, *The Prelude*, William Wordsworth disparagingly described this building as a 'pepper pot'.

²⁸⁰ Peter Craven, *Guide to the Storrs Estate* (undated). The land the Storrs estate occupied once belonged to Furness Abbey. The Storrs estate is the subject of a case study in Section 9,

²⁸¹ Winchester (2006), p. 201.

'descriptions of the natural scenery served first and foremost, as an enticement for lovers of landscape to come and see the real thing'.²⁸² Initially, such descriptions had been confined to private travel journals and letters but were later contained in guidebooks for the use of the general public. The discovery of the Lake District, like other places such as the Peak District in Derbyshire, the Yorkshire Dales, Snowdonia in Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland, was driven by various factors. These included: improvements in roads as a consequence of the development of turnpikes; tourists seeking alternative places to visit owing to the curtailment of travel to Continental Europe, particularly on grand tours, as a consequence of political unrest and wars;²⁸³ and an increasing number of publications being available that no longer discouraged but actively encouraged people to visit this and other areas of the country. The latter was a direct consequence of a noticeable change in the language used to describe such places, including the Lake District, with the derogatory and negative comments, such as those by Defoe, being replaced by ones of admiration. This change is most evident in the attitudes towards mountainous scenery with their 'life threatening associations of pain and danger' being 'transformed into pleasurable astonishment' and their sublime scenery no longer being feared but admired.²⁸⁴ In addition, the undoubted influence of the picturesque movement began to alter opinions regarding how the natural landscape of the Lake District was viewed.²⁸⁵ This change, continued in the nineteenth century under the influence of the Romantic movement, and combined with a greater interest being taken in nature (the flora and fauna), which was also occurring at the same time, made areas such as the Lake District very desirable places to visit.²⁸⁶

²⁸² Powell and Hebron (2010), p. 29.

²⁸³ Most notably, the French Revolution for the period 1789–99 and the Napoleonic wars of 1803–15.

²⁸⁴ As quoted by Powell and Hebron (2010), p. 3, citing *The Works of the Right Honourable Edmund Burke*, 1826, Vol. I, pp. 150–201.

²⁸⁵ Ian Thompson, *The English Lakes* (London: 2010), Ch. 6 'The Lake Poets' pp. 95–114. The poets of the Romantic movement who resided in the Lake District were particularly observant of the natural world and included William Wordsworth (1770–1850), Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), and Robert Southey (1774–1843).

²⁸⁶ Malcolm Andrews, *The Search for the Picturesque, Landscape Aesthetics and Tourism in Britain 1760–1800* (Stanford: 1989), pp. 47–50. Stephen Hebron, *The Romantics and the British Landscape* (London: 2006). Books on local and national floras become available from the late eighteenth century. See *Simpson Collection of British floras*, Cambridge University Herbarium. One of the most recent floras for the area is Geoffrey Halliday's, *A Flora of Cumbria* (1997). In addition, identification books on the British flora were also being published. William and Dorothy Wordsworth had a copy of William Withering's, *An arrangement of British plants; according to the latest improvements of the Linnaean system: To which is prefixed, An easy introduction to the study of botany, illustrated by copper plates* (London: 1796). David Pearman, 'The Discovery of the native flora of Britain and Ireland', *British Wildlife*, Vol. 29, No. 4 (2018), pp. 259–65.

5.7.2. Guidebooks and artists' depictions of conifers

It is from the various writings of individuals that visited and described, often in great detail, the features and landscapes of the Lake District in the eighteenth century that an indication can be gleaned as to the type of trees in the area and in particular when conifers started to be noted to any great extent. However, although trees were frequently mentioned, it was usually in a generalized way as to the manner in which they enhanced or contributed to a scene rather than their botanical interest. This may have been because most authors were not botanists and were neither interested in discussing the natural history of trees nor sufficiently knowledgeable to be able to identify individual trees to species level.²⁸⁷ Only the following were therefore usually noted: oak (no distinguishing species), ash, birch (no distinguishing species), holly, and beech. The word conifer is never used at this time, but instead 'fir' appears to have described conifers in general or more specifically Scots pine (known at the time as Scotch fir).²⁸⁸

Although there had been earlier accounts of visitors' experiences, and descriptions of the Lake District, it was the journal of the poet Thomas Gray (1716–71), which documented his tour of the area in 1769, that is considered 'the first example of modern travel writing'.²⁸⁹ His writings were not aimed at giving information to tourists but were instead a record of his own observations of the scenes he came across. But as he described these so eloquently, they undoubtedly fostered a desire in others to visit such places.²⁹⁰ As a consequence of his writings and the guidebooks that his work engendered, the practice of tourism in Britain had become well established by the end of the eighteenth century.²⁹¹

As a result of the writings of Gray and Gilpin, guidebooks started to be published that were specifically written for tourists, the first of which was: *A Guide to the Lakes in Cumberland, Westmorland and Lancashire*, by the Jesuit Priest, Thomas West (1720–79), first published in

²⁸⁷ The science of botany was still in its infancy at this time.

²⁸⁸ Botanically, the difference between gymnosperms (conifers and related allies) and angiosperms (flowering plants) had not yet been distinguished. Difficulties also arose regarding taxonomy, classification, and nomenclature — with the binomial system of Carl Linnaeus (1707–78) not being fully established in Britain until 1768 when it was included in later editions of Philip Miller's, *The Gardener's Dictionary* (1736).

²⁸⁹ John R. Murray, *A Tour of the English Lakes with Thomas Gray and Joseph Farington RA* (London: 2012), p. 16. Slightly earlier publications of visits to the area included Dr John Brown's, *Description of the Lake at Keswick*, published posthumously in 1766 in the *London Chronicle* and Arthur Young's 'Six months Tour of Northern England' in 1770.

²⁹⁰ Gray's writings of his visit to the Lake District were originally in the form of letters to his sick friend Dr Wharton. They were compiled into a journal in 1776 four years after his death.

²⁹¹ Particularly by the gentry who enjoyed visiting the stately homes of the aristocracy, as is evident in Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice* (1813) when the heroine Elizabeth Bennett and her uncle and aunt Mr and Mrs Gardiner, when visiting Derbyshire, called at Pemberley, the home of Mr Darcy,

1778.²⁹² West stated that his intention in publishing his *Guide* was 'to encourage the taste of visiting the lakes by furnishing the traveller with a Guide; and for that purpose, the writer has here collected and laid before us, all the select stations and points of view, noticed by those authors who have last made the tour of the lakes, verified by his own repeated observations'.²⁹³ These 'select stations' were vantage points from where tourists could view a particularly fine scene. West described the views from these stations but intentionally left out a little detail for the tourists to discover for themselves. One of these stations was from above Rayrigg, which, according to George Tattersall writing almost a century later, commanded 'a finer general view of Windermere, and its peculiar features, than any other station'.²⁹⁴ Today this view is totally obscured by trees (Figure 5.21), but a similar view can be obtained from Queen Adelaide's Hill



Figure 5.21 The view south over Lake Windermere from above Rayrigg, now totally obscured by trees (2016).

(the hill depicted behind the wall in Joseph Farington's view) (Figure 5.22 over). A noticeable difference between Farington's view and that of today's is the number of conifers now in the landscape with their conical shape being very much in evidence (Figure 5.23 over).

²⁹² West did not live to see the publication of his revised second edition, nor was he to know of the enduring popularity of his *Guide* as it ran to eleven editions, the last being published in 1821.

²⁹³ Thomas West, *A Guide to the Lakes*, 11th edn (Kendal: 1821), p. 1.

²⁹⁴ George Tattersall, *Tablets of an Itinerant, The Lakes of England* (1836), p. 31. The term 'station' has long since ceased to be used for such places, with 'viewpoint' now being favoured.



Figure 5.22 'Windermere from above Rayrigg' — Watercolour by Joseph Farington (1747–1821). One of Thomas West's 'Stations', the view from which is now totally obscured by trees. Windermere was described by Thomas Gray as having 'wooded peninsulas'.



Figure 5.23 View south over Lake Windermere from Queen Adelaide's Hill (2017). In contrast to Farington's view, the conical shape of conifers is now much in evidence.

Whilst Gray and West were very erudite in their descriptions of the scenes before them, they rarely mentioned individual tree species. Instead, the presence of trees tended to be generalized — oak, beech, holly — and with an occasional reference to 'firs'. However, in addition to the written descriptions of the Lake District, there were an increasing number of paintings and illustrations being produced, many of which were specifically undertaken to

accompany these descriptions.²⁹⁵ Further indications as to the trees in the area can be gleaned from these including whether the trees were broad leaved deciduous species or conifers. .²⁹⁶ An artist who frequently depicted trees was Farington, who, a few years after Gray had embarked on his tour, undertook a similar journey and produced numerous watercolours of many of the scenes described by Gray.²⁹⁷ Gilpin praised Farington's work, stating: 'Mr Farington's prints render any other portraits of the lakes unnecessary. They are by far, in the author's opinion, the most accurate [of the] beautiful views of that romantic country, which he hath seen'.²⁹⁸ In addition to authors not being specific about conifer species, their interpretation by painters can also be somewhat ambiguous, as is evident in watercolours by Francis Towne (1714–1816) (Figure 5.24). Here, the darker trees with more elongated shapes are possibly Scots pine. However,



Figure 5.24 'Rydal Water and the Grasmere Hills' by Francis Towne (1786). On the two small islands, the presence of conifers is possibly indicated by the elongated shape and darker colour of the trees, which is in contrast with the paler, more rounded shape of the broad-leaved trees.

²⁹⁵ See Powell and Hebron (2010), for paintings of the Lake District between 1750 and 1820.

²⁹⁶ Painters of the Romantic movement, particularly John Constable, are noted for their keen observational skills, and undoubtedly many of the trees in his paintings can be identified to species level.

²⁹⁷ Farington's watercolours of the Lake District were used in later guidebooks, an example being *Lakes of Lancashire, Westmorland and Cumberland illustrated in forty-three engravings from drawings by Joseph Farington RA, with descriptions, historical topographical and picturesque, the result of a tour made in the summer of the year 1816* by Thomas Hartwell Horne (London: 1816).

²⁹⁸ Gilpin, *Observations* (1786) Preface p. xxiv.

there is no ambiguity when on the rare occasions an illustration is accompanied by descriptions such as those by the cartographer and diplomatic William Gell (1777–1836) who in 1797, as a Cambridge undergraduate, visited the Lake District and was one of the first to specifically visit West's 'stations' and to follow a prescribed route for 'scenic tourism'.²⁹⁹ He kept a travel journal (not intended for publication) of where he visited, which also included his observations of Lower Falls, Rydal. Unlike Gray, West, Gilpin, or Rose, he specifically mentioned the conifers he saw, commenting: 'we passed along a short winding path, closely bordered with young spruce or silver firs, til we came to the door of a little low summer house [...]'.³⁰⁰ At this time, to have different types of conifers mentioned and which are not just described as 'firs' is a rare occurrence. Perhaps this was because Gell was simply more observant and that there were in fact many more species of conifer in the landscape than the writings of others would indicate. Being an artist, Gell also included watercolours in his journal, one of which was 'Island in Grasmere'. Although his artistic depiction of conifers is ambiguous in this painting (Figure 5.25),



**Figure 5.25 'Island in Grasmere' by William Gell (1797).
Without the accompanying description, it would be difficult to say with certainty
that the trees depicted were conifers.**

²⁹⁹ William Rollinson, ed., *William Gell, A Tour in the Lakes 1797* (Otley: 1968).

³⁰⁰ For his description of Lower Falls, Rydal, see Rollinson, *ibid.*, pp. 4–5.

his description of the island confirms their presence: 'An island rises gently about the middle of the water, except that on the south-west side the shore is rocky and one or two rows of firs contribute to the abruptness of the appearance'.³⁰¹ Here, 'firs' meant Scots pine, which can still be seen growing on this island today — as they do on many other Lakeland islands — although it is unlikely that any will date from this period.

In addition to trees being depicted in illustrations, the use of trees by landowners was also frequently commented upon by artists and authors, including the painter William Green (1760–1823). Green 'not only loved painting them but actually loved trees for themselves and for their beauty in the landscape'.³⁰² Like Gilpin, Green was concerned about the indiscriminate felling of trees and published his views on the subject in his *Seventy-eight studies from Nature* (1809). He argued that there was no reason why 'utility and beauty' could not go 'hand in hand' and that 'Grasmere could have been infinitely more beautiful with more judicious planting'.³⁰³ He also praised landowners, such as the Bishop of Llandaff at Calgarth Park, who he considered were enlightened owners because of the trees they planted. The numbers planted are evident from the financial accounts of nurseries in the area, a number of which had been established before 1800.³⁰⁴ Examples include the planting of '84,500 larches at Wansfell, Ambleside' in 1794, undertaken for the Bishop by a local nursery founded by Thomas Clark, and '14 acres with oaks at £5 an acre for John Christian Curwen of Workington Hall' by the nurserymen John Sander of Keswick.³⁰⁵ It was through his wife, the heiress Isabella Curwen, that Workington Hall became not only Curwen's property but also the thirty-eight-acre Belle Isle,³⁰⁶ upon which the classically inspired round house had been built in 1774.³⁰⁷ In the late 1780s, Curwen had the grounds landscaped by Thomas White, and it was also during this decade that he planted larches at Unerigg in 1780, at Workington in 1786, at Belle Isle in 1787, and periodically on Claife Heights (formerly referred to as Furness Fells). Such extensive plantings did not go unnoticed, as Green commented: 'on the slopes of Windermere over a million trees, "Curwen's Woods"' had been

³⁰¹ As quoted by Rollinson (1968), p. 13.

³⁰² William Green, *Guide Book*, Vol. I, p. 409. As cited in: M. E. Burkett and J. D. G. Sloss, *William Green of Ambleside, A Lake District Artist (1760–1823)* (Kendal: 1984), pp. 81–82.

³⁰³ *Ibid.*, p. 82.

³⁰⁴ For nurseries in Cumberland at this time, see John Harvey, *Early Nurserymen* (Chichester: 1974), pp. 117–18.

³⁰⁵ Harvey (1974), p. 117.

³⁰⁶ Isabella Curwen's family had purchased the property in 1781.

³⁰⁷ In his poem, *The Prelude*, Wordsworth disparagingly described this building as a 'pepper-pot'.

planted. In 1809, Curwen was awarded The Society of Arts gold medal in recognition for his having planted over a million larches and other forest trees in a single year.³⁰⁸

From the end of the eighteenth century, guidebooks continued to be published in ever-increasing numbers, with the most notable, and with a considerable impact on encouraging tourists into the area, being that written by William Wordsworth in 1815³⁰⁹ (discussed in Section 6).

5.8. Conclusion

The eighteenth century, unlike the seventeenth century, experienced a steady increase in the number of exotic conifer species being introduced into the country, and this occurred at the same time as garden design was undergoing a radical change, with informality replacing formality.³¹⁰ It is apparent, however, that the advent of a new garden style did not equate to either a greater diversity or greater number of conifers being planted. Thousands of only a few conifer species were planted in a formal manner in seventeenth-century gardens, and thousands of the same few species were planted in an informal manner in the eighteenth century. The main difference was therefore the manner in which they were planted in gardens, parkland, and the natural landscape, and not the diversity of planting they contained. A good indication of the manner of these plantings was increasingly evident not only in writings of the time but also and most notably in paintings and illustrations. These indicate that conifers were used in gardens and parkland in mixed plantings, as specimens (most notably cedar of Lebanon), and on the periphery of estates, often in considerable numbers. It is also apparent that it was only when a particular landowner wished to have a collection of conifers, as was evident in Charles Hamilton's garden at Painshill and Lord Petre's at Thorndon Hall, that a significant number of different conifer species were planted. The most striking difference was that by the middle of the century, trees were no longer being subjected to continual clipping, particularly for topiary, but instead were being allowed to grow into their natural shape.

Perhaps of more significance in the Lake District than a change in garden styles was that

³⁰⁸ William Green, *Guide Book*, as quoted by Burkett and Sloss (1984), p. 82, no reference given.

³⁰⁹ The Guidebook ran to eleven editions, with academics considering the expanded and updated fifth edition of 1835, being the best.

³¹⁰ See Appendix I for conifer introductions during this century.

by the late eighteenth century, as Angus Winchester has commented, 'the picturesque beauty [of the area] had been "discovered" [...]; and trees were being planted on a scale not seen before'.³¹¹ The latter was the consequence of various factors: firstly, the wealth of the area increasing; secondly, an 'intense interest in planting which pervaded the country', with timber trees being grown as 'an ultimate source of profit'; and thirdly, an increasing desire to 'improve the aesthetics of home park and garden or to enrich the scenery of great estates [...]'.³¹² A very clear example of this was the planting that was undertaken by John Curwen on the fells on the western side of Lake Windermere. However, in Bowness, the planting of conifers for ornamental purposes in gardens was still very limited owing to the scarcity of substantial properties with notable gardens.

Of particular significance in this century, albeit for the future use of conifers, was the beginning of a recognition of the role trees played in the character of an area — the *genius loci* of Pope³¹³ or 'sense of place' — and it was Gilpin who first instigated this through creating a 'new sense of regionalism' through his writings of the tours he made throughout the country. In doing this, he taught travellers how to analyse scenery and to observe how variously nature "'works up" landscape in different regions', including the trees they contained.³¹⁴ Gilpin may therefore have indirectly influenced subsequent generations regarding the appropriateness of planting particular species, whether native or exotic, in certain areas of the country in natural landscapes, parklands, or gardens. This is examined in subsequent sections.

By formulating picturesque principles, Gilpin was also an influential intermediary between classical and Romantic attitudes that was 'necessary in order to enable the imagination to form the habit of feeling through the eyes [and] it occurred at the point when art shifted its appeal from reason to imagination'.³¹⁵ There is also no doubt that Gilpin created the picturesque genre of tourism in the eighteenth century, and anyone armed with his *Observations* would have no difficulty in deciding, when presented with a Lakeland or other scene, whether such a scene

³¹¹ Angus Winchester, ed., *England's Landscape. The North West* (London: 2006), p. 14.

³¹² Harvey (1972), p. 34.

³¹³ Ian Thompson, 'Gardens, Parks and Sense of Place', in Ian Convery, Gerard Corsane and Peter Davis eds., *Making Sense of Place, Multidisciplinary Perspectives* (Woodbridge: 2012), p. 161. According to Ian Thompson, *Genius loci* could be considered synonymous for character.

³¹⁴ Mowl (2000), p. 174.

³¹⁵ As quoted by Andrews (1989) Preface, p. viii.

was the 'epitome of the Picturesque ideal' (Figure 5.26).³¹⁶ With regard to conifers, and trees in



**Figure 5.26 'Windermere and the Langdale Pikes from Lowood' by Julius Caesar Ibbotson (c. 1800–06).
A bucolic landscape, reminiscent of the landscape paintings of Claude,
which to Gilpin would have epitomized the picturesque ideal.**

general, he had a key role in establishing a precedence by which they could be analysed, whether individually or collectively, based purely on aesthetic considerations. Such considerations, rather than utilitarian ones, then began to be included in publications about planting conifers in gardens.³¹⁷ His keen observations also set a standard by which the morphological characteristics of conifers could be judged not only for their picturesque qualities but also for their suitability in gardens. This aspect has lasted to the present day, whether through his influence or influencing others.

³¹⁶ Winchester (2006), caption, p. 198.

³¹⁷ Including: Veitch's (1881).

6. The opinions of William Wordsworth on garden design and conifers

6.1. Introduction

'William Wordsworth's fame as a poet and author of the widely read "Guide to the Lakes" placed him in a strong position to object to certain developments which he believed would adversely affect his beloved English Lake District'.³¹⁸ These developments included the creation of houses and gardens that he considered were unsuited to the landscape. His views on these and on conifers are examined here. Whether they influenced garden designers and authors during the Victorian and Edwardian eras is examined in subsequent sections.

6.2. A time of unprecedented social and cultural change during his lifetime

In writing his *Guide*, Wordsworth wished to instruct people on the beauties of all aspects of the Lake District. He argued this area was 'a sort of natural property, in which every man has a right and interest who has an eye to perceive and a heart to enjoy'.³¹⁹ As he prevailed upon people to appreciate the beauty of nature, the *Guide* was more than just an itinerary and description of places to visit. It was also the first, and probably the only one, which included an author's views on conifers and their use in the Lake District's landscapes during the nineteenth century.

Wordsworth, who was born in Cockermouth, moved away from the area for several years but returned to live at Dove Cottage, Town End, Grasmere, with his sister Dorothy from 1799 to 1806.³²⁰ In 1799, Grasmere 'was still physically as Thomas Gray had come upon it in 1769: "this little unsuspected paradise [where] all is peace, rusticity, and happy poverty, in its neatest and most becoming attire"'.³²¹ It was during the years Wordsworth spent at Dove Cottage and in his later homes, particularly Rydal Mount, that he became established as one of the foremost poets of the Romantic movement and is now 'recognised as one of the greatest poets in the English language'.³²² He was instrumental in the changes that occurred between the ideologies of the neoclassical movement and those of the Romantic movement. These included: 'the observance of rules [changing] to the observation of nature; pictorial conventions requiring

³¹⁸ *Nomination Document*, p. 207.

³¹⁹ *William Wordsworth Guide to the Lakes*, ed. by Ernest de Sélincourt, with a new preface by Stephen Gill. Section Third: 'Changes, and Rules of Taste for Preventing their bad effect' (2004), pp. 77–93.

³²⁰ Until the 1890s, Dove Cottage was referred to as the 'Cottage at Town End'.

³²¹ Victoria and Albert Museum, *The Discovery of the Lake District: A Northern Arcadia and its Uses* (London: 1984), p. 77.

³²² *Nomination Document*, p. 185.

cognitive appreciation (recognition conditioning response) [changing] to subjective response (reaction) and contrived language and formal structure [changing] to natural language and expressive idiom'.³²³ These new ideas altered the way in which trees were observed and described, or depicted in paintings, including those by John Constable (1776–1837).

Wordsworth's life straddled decades of unprecedented change in the country — politically, socially, and culturally — with perhaps the greatest impact being an economy changing from one based on agriculture to one based on industry. Of particular concern to him were the social changes that were occurring in the lives of the working poor and the impact on the countryside of new farming practices and urban development.³²⁴ In the Lake District, he campaigned forcibly against 'certain developments which he believed would adversely affect his beloved English Lake District', including the proposal for a railway line from Kendal to Windermere.³²⁵ His objection was based on his belief that 'The staple of the district is [...] its beauty and its character of seclusion and retirement', which therefore would not be benefitted by the intrusion of a railway.³²⁶ He also objected against the closure of footpaths and the enclosure of common land. Whilst not everyone agreed with his views, they were later championed by Ruskin and became the cornerstone of the conservation movement, particularly in the Lake District.

The arrival of the railway and the ensuing development of the towns of Windermere and Bowness had not yet occurred when the fifth edition of Wordsworth's *Guide* was published in 1835.³²⁷ The map included in his guidebook was still very similar to that of West's forty years earlier, with no branch line from the main railway line and Windermere the town not yet existing (Figure 6.1). However, by the time of the 2nd edition of the 1858 Ordnance Survey Map in 1897, the impact of the railway's arrival is clear, with a considerable amount of building now evident around the railway station, including Windermere Hotel. In addition, many houses were built not only for those servicing the requirements of the visitors but also for the

³²³ Michael Liversidge, Bristol University Lecture (2007).

³²⁴ His concerns on the changes in the lives of those connected with the land are evident in his poem 'Michael' (1800).

³²⁵ *Nomination Document*, p. 207. He campaigned most forcefully, but unsuccessfully, against the railway coming to Windermere but successfully challenged the further extension of the line to Ambleside.

³²⁶ *Ibid.*

³²⁷ Literary academics consider this edition to be the definitive *Guide*, as subsequent editions were altered with various sections being omitted by the editor, Hudson.

Wordsworth was concerned about these changes, he unwittingly encouraged tourism and this development. This was as a consequence of his being so well known as a poet and becoming a tourist attraction himself and through publishing his guidebook.³²⁸ In recognition of his significance, the term 'Wordsworthshire' or 'Wordsworth Country' came to be applied to the area in the Lake District with which he was most closely associated.³²⁹

In later editions of Wordsworth's *Guide*, sections were included under various headings including 'View of the country as formed by Nature', and it was in these that Wordsworth voiced many of his concerns on the changes he had observed that were occurring not only in society but also in the natural landscape.³³⁰ The change that occurred in the landscape around Grasmere is evident in two watercolours of views over to Grasmere, one painted in 1789 by Joseph Farington and the other by L. Feary in 1821. In the latter, the fellsides (middle ground left, behind the house and behind Grasmere village, Figure 6.3) are completely forested, whereas in Farington's earlier depiction, there is no such coverage (Figure 6.4). Although forestry had clearly made considerable inroads into the area, few ornamental conifer plantings in gardens in Grasmere would have occurred, even by 1821.



Figure 6.3 Grasmere by L. Feary, engraved by Robert Havell & Son (1821). Although not an identical view, conifer plantations are more apparent in this painting, particularly on the fellside behind the building on the left.

³²⁸ He was appointed Poet Laureate in 1843.

³²⁹ The term is first thought to have been used by Prof. James Russell Lovell in 1854 in the introduction to an American edition of *William Wordsworth — The Poetical Work*. See also: Harry Goodwin and William Knight, *Through the Wordsworth Country* (1887). The Wordsworth Trust, in Grasmere, Cumbria, also has a permanent exhibition entitled 'Wordsworth Country'.

³³⁰ Wordsworth, *Guide*, 'Description of the Scenery of the Lakes, Section First. View of the Country as Formed by Nature' (2004), pp. 41–61.



**Figure 6.4 Looking across Grasmere to Helm Crag — Watercolour by Joseph Farington (1789).
No conifer plantation present (middle distance, left).**

6.3. Underlying principles relating to garden design

Wordsworth lived through changes not only to the natural landscape but also to those that occurred in garden design: from the informal, natural-looking landscape gardens of Brown in the latter half of the eighteenth century, to the formal contrived Italianate gardens of the Victorian era, as epitomized by the designs of Barry. Rather than admiring and following these fashions, it was nature that influenced and inspired Wordsworth, and through his writings he gave a clear indication as to how nature should be followed. In relation to the design of parkland and gardens, he argued: 'let nature be all in all, taking care that everything done by man shall be in the way of being adopted by her', adding 'no improvements can really be made on that which Nature has achieved left unspoiled and unimpaired'.³³¹ As a consequence, and although he remains silent on the subject, there can be no doubt that he would have abhorred the artificiality of Italianate gardens, their unnatural bedding-out plantings, and topiary, all of which had become fashionable before he died (this style is discussed in Section 7).

Wordsworth was not the only person to be inspired by Nature, as by the late eighteenth century:

the appreciation of nature, and particularly wild nature, had been converted into a sort of religious

³³¹ Letter, Wordsworth to his friend Lord Beaumont, 17 October 1805, in which Wordsworth advised on how improvements should or should not be made to Beaumont's garden. Sélincourt, *Letters of William and Dorothy Wordsworth, 1787–1805*, 2nd edn, revised by Chester L. Shaver (Oxford: 1967), p. 625.

act. Nature was not only beautiful, it was morally healing. The value of the wilderness was not just negative, it did not merely provide a place of privacy, an opportunity for self-examination and reverie [...], it had a more positive role, exercising a beneficent spiritual power over man.³³²

These new attitudes towards nature were encapsulated in the philosophies of the Romantic movement and are evident not only in the work of the poets of the time, including Wordsworth,³³³ but also in the paintings by painters such as Constable. According to the art historian, Robert Cumming, Constable believed 'that nature with its dewy freshness, sunlight, trees, shadows, streams, and so forth, was full of moral and spiritual goodness'.³³⁴ A comment made by the Scottish advocate and historian, Sir Archibald Alison (1792–1867), perhaps sums up the views of the time: 'All the noblest convictions and confidences of religion may be acquired in the simple school of nature'.³³⁵

Whilst nature was Wordsworth's greatest inspiration, he was also aware of the theories being expressed relating to the picturesque movement (he visited Sir Uvedale Price at his home Foxdale in 1815, and his sister Dorothy noted in her *Journal* that she had read Richard Payne Knights' poem 'Landscape'). But how much of an influence the picturesque movement had on his views on gardens and conifers is not known, as both he and Dorothy are silent on the subject.

6.4. Wordsworth's views on trees, particularly conifers

Wordsworth's admiration and preference for native plants are evident from his writings, with two of his favourite native wildflowers, *Ranunculus ficaria* — lesser celandine and *Narcissi pseudo-narcissus* — daffodil, being immortalized in his poetry.³³⁶ Under the section in his *Guide* entitled, 'Woods', Wordsworth argued that native trees were infinitely superior, and far more in keeping with the landscape, than any introduced tree.³³⁷ Not only did he note the types of tree species that were naturally occurring in the area, but also he indicated the type of habitat in which they could be found, stating: 'The woods consist chiefly of oak, ash, and birch, and here and there

³³² Keith Thomas, *Man and the Natural World — Changing Attitudes in England (1500–1800)* London: 1983), p. 260.

³³³ And also, amongst others, Samuel Taylor Coleridge (1772–1834), John Keats (1795–1821), and Percy Bysshe Shelley (1792–1822).

³³⁴ Cumming (2005), p. 277.

³³⁵ Thomas (1983), p. 261

³³⁶ In error *Chellidonium majus* — greater celandine and not *Ranunculus ficaria* — lesser celandine, was carved on Wordsworth's memorial plaque in St. Oswald's church, Grasmere.

³³⁷ Wordsworth, 'Woods', *Complete Guide. Wordsworth's Scenery of the Lakes of England with Directions for Tourists*, 11th edn, ed. by Hudson & Nicholson (Kendal: 1842), Section First, pp. 22–24.

Wych-elm, with underwood of hazel, the white and black thorn, and hollies; in moist places alders and willows abound; and yews among the rocks'.³³⁸ He also commented on their demise, in particular that of his favourite, conifer Scots pine:

Formerly the whole country must have been covered with wood to a great height up the mountains; where native Scotch firs must have grown in great profusion, as they do in the northern part of Scotland to this day. But not one of these old inhabitants has existed, perhaps for some hundreds of years;³³⁹

To this statement Wordsworth also included the following footnote:

This species of fir [Scots pine] is in character much superior to the American which has usurped its place. Where fir is planted for ornament, let it be by all means of the aboriginal species, which can only be produced from Scotch nurseries.³⁴⁰

Wordsworth planted Scots pine on the western side of his summer house at Rydal Mount.³⁴² His nephew Christopher Wordsworth later mentioned these in his official biography of his uncle: 'Close to this arbour-door is a beautiful sycamore, and five fine Scotch firs in the foreground, and a deep bay of wood, to the left and front, of oak, ash, holly hazel, fir and birch'.³⁴³ The 'fir' he mentioned would probably have been *Picea abies* — Norway spruce, which had been introduced into the country prior to 1500.³⁴⁴ Even though Wordsworth admired Scots pine, he was less than enthusiastic when these trees were planted in an unfavourable manner as, in his opinion, had occurred at St. Herbert's Hermitage on Derwentwater. He complained that the 'whole island had been planted anew with Scots firs, left to spindle up by each other's side [and which was] a melancholy phalanx, defying the power of the winds and disregarding the regret of the spectator'.³⁴⁵ Wordsworth was also very adamant on which species of tree he thought were inappropriate for the Lake District.³⁴⁶ He argued that 'other

³³⁸ Wordsworth (1842), p. 22.

³³⁹ Wordsworth (2004), p. 56. The nomenclature and identification of conifers at this time were still very muddled, with many pines, as here, being referred to as firs (which today are *Abies* and not *Pinus*).

³⁴⁰ Ibid.

³⁴² From John Grigor's nursery. See earlier, Section II, Scot's pine.

³⁴³ Christopher Wordsworth, *Memorials of William Wordsworth* (1851) as quoted in Buchanan, in Appendix C 'Description of the Garden by Christopher Wordsworth' (2001), pp. 205–06.

³⁴⁴ Two of these trees are in the garden today, but from their size it is unlikely that they date from Wordsworth's time.

³⁴⁵ Wordsworth (2004), p. 86.

³⁴⁶ Wordsworth held similar views to Gilpin in that he considered buildings in the wider landscape should not be painted

trees have been introduced within the last fifty years such as beeches, larches, limes &c., and plantations of firs, seldom with advantage, and often with great injury to the appearance of the country'.³⁴⁷ Of the introduced trees, it was *Larix decidua* — European larch (introduced around 1620) that was the subject of his most scathing condemnation, and he particularly regretted 'that they should have selected these lovely dales for their manufactory'.³⁴⁸ He gave his reasoning behind his dislike, stating:

It must be acknowledged that the larch, till it has outgrown the size of a shrub, shows, when looked at singly, some elegance in form and appearance, especially in spring, decorated as it then is by the pink tassels of its blossoms; but (for boughs it has none) [there is] no variety in the youth of the trees, and little dignity even when it attains its full growth. Leaves it cannot be said to have; and, consequently, it affords neither shade nor shelter. In spring, the larch becomes green long before the native trees; and its green is so peculiar and vivid, that, finding nothing to harmonise with it, wherever it comes forth a disagreeable spot is produced. In summer, when all other trees are in their pride, it is of a dingy, lifeless hue; in autumn, of a spiritless, unvaried yellow; and in winter, it is still more lamentably distinguished from every other deciduous tree of the forest; for they seem only to sleep, but the larch appears absolutely dead³⁴⁹ (Figure 6.5).



**Figure 6.5 Larch on Claife Heights (spring 2016).
The bright green spring leaves, 'so peculiar and vivid'.**

white, as they stood out and gave an inaccurate sense of their proportion, but Wordsworth did acknowledge that in urban settings, white was more acceptable, as the colour gave the impression of neatness.

³⁴⁷ Wordsworth (2004), p. 57. *Tilia platyphyllos* — large-leaved lime and *T. cordata* — small-leaved lime are both native and would have been very numerous during the time of the first settlers in the Neolithic period. *Tilia × europaea* (common) lime, which is perhaps the species to which Wordsworth was referring, is a naturally occurring hybrid (possibly originating in this country or in Denmark) between the above two native species. It was frequently planted in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for creating avenues, particularly in parkland.

³⁴⁸ Wordsworth (2004), p. 86.

³⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 89.

Wordsworth was obviously pleased when he noticed larch being removed, as he noted: 'The view from the Pleasure-house of the station near the ferry has suffered much from larch plantations; this mischief, however, is gradually disappearing and the Larches, under the management of Mr Curwen, are giving way to the native woods' (Figure 8.8).³⁵⁰ Surprisingly, Wordsworth does not mention Curwen by name in his tirades over the thousands of larches that had been planted by this gentleman and others.

Although Wordsworth was quick to condemn certain trees and gave reasons behind his condemnation, others have also tried to explain his views, including G. S. Boulger who commented:

Probably neither Gilpin nor Wordsworth had seen the larch in England under the most favourable circumstances, and it must be admitted that it harmonises but little with other trees, and is inevitably monotonous in plantations [...] Wordsworth's want of appreciation of this species may have been partly due to its unfamiliarity to his childhood, and but few of his objections would apply to the larch as it appears in its native mountains — as, for instance, in the Tyrol — where the trees often stand apart, but with no other species to contrast with them. To other tastes, however, even in England, the slightly curved needles, spreading with feathery gracefulness from the drooping, but upturned, branchlets, seem as beautiful an object as any in our spring woodland.³⁵¹

Writing in 1936, H. H. Symonds also analysed what may have been the reasons behind Wordsworth's (and others) dislike of conifers in the Lake District. One of these was that in contrast to coniferous plantations, native woods 'add to the beauty of the lower contours and refine upon the subtle colour patterns of the fell side [and that] the effect of these trees is in their variety, [whereas] commercial afforestation does not offer this. In northern America or Northern Europe grand coniferous forests are the natural character of the landscape and for much greater areas than we would ever find in England'.³⁵² Ian Brodie has commented that Symonds was 'quick to remind us that the difference of setting is the crucial factor; to each his place' and explained what may have been the reasoning behind Symonds's opinions, stating:

³⁵⁰ Wordsworth (2004), p. 29.

³⁵¹ G. S. Boulger & W. H. J. Boot, *Familiar Trees*, First Series (London: '[n.d.]'), pp. 119–20.

³⁵² Ian Brodie and the Friends of the Lake District, *A Retrospective look at Symonds' 1936 book, 'Afforestation in the Lake District'* (2004), p. 11.

Spruce and pine have their home range where they contribute to the special character of those native landscapes. In England the introduced conifers, whilst having their intrinsic beauty were (and largely still are) regarded as less aesthetically pleasing and botanically inferior to oak and yew that served as monuments to the essence of an English landscape. The Lake District and other English landscapes are smaller of scale, more variable, and more intimate of character [...] [and] Symonds recognized this simple law 'It is common opinion among civilised persons that trees are beautiful. But not all trees are equally beautiful, and not all trees are equally beautiful in all places'.³⁵³

Wordsworth also held similar views to those of Gilpin and Green, including being concerned about the loss of many ancient trees, and although there were still some fine specimens to be seen, such as in the grounds of Rydal Hall and Lowther Castle, many others had been felled, as he noted: 'The want most felt, however, is that of timber trees. There are few magnificent ones to be found near any of the lakes; and unless greater care be taken, there will, in a short time, scarce be left an ancient oak that would repay the cost of felling'.³⁵⁴ Dorothy also mentioned their sadness at trees being felled in their local woods: 'they are making sad ravages in the woods — Benson's Wood is going & the wood above the River'.³⁵⁵

6.5. Conclusion

As a consequence of being guided by nature, Wordsworth did not approve of anything artificial. So, he considered not only formal seventeenth-century gardens undesirable but also landscape gardens, such as those created by Brown.

During Wordsworth's lifetime, many conifers were introduced into Britain, most notably Douglas fir in 1827. As he must have been aware of these new introductions, it is surprising that he made no comments regarding their suitability for the Lake District. He would not, however, have been aware of the most frequently planted species in the latter half of the century, as they were introduced after his death. These included Wellingtonia (introduced 1853) Lawson cypress (introduced 1854) and western red cedar (introduced 1853).³⁵⁶ From the opinions he did express

³⁵³ Brodie (2004), p. 13.

³⁵⁴ Wordsworth, *Guide* (2004), p. 57. He vented his anger on the felling of trees on the estate of Neidpath Castle in his poem: 'Composed at Neidpath Castle, the property of Lord Queensberry' (1803), the opening line being: 'Degenerate Douglas! O the unworthy lord!'

³⁵⁵ *Journal*, Thursday [4] March, 1802, p. 75.

³⁵⁶ Also including many other conifers — see Appendix I.

regarding introduced conifers, such as larch, it would seem probable that he would not have approved of any of these new introductions, particularly as many appear very incongruous in the landscape, towering above their broad-leaved native neighbours, or blocking out views including the one he would have admired from Rydal Mount (Figures 6.6 & 6.7).³⁵⁷ Wordsworth's

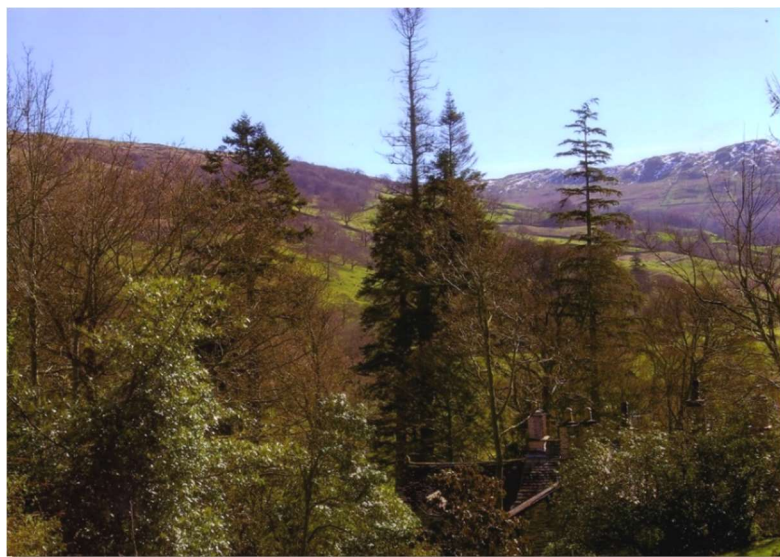


Figure 6.6 View south from Rydal Mount currently obscured by conifers (2017). Wordsworth lived at Rydal Mount from 1813 until his death in 1850.



Figure 6.7 An introduced conifer towering above its deciduous neighbours as seen from the road (A592) from Bowness to Ambleside (2017).

³⁵⁷ These conifers were probably planted during the time the garden was being re-designed by Thomas Mawson in 1909.

preference was undoubtedly for native trees, and out of the three native species he particularly admired Scot's pine. For these and any other trees to be admired by him, they also had to be in their natural state and not, for example, cut into artificial shapes such as for topiary.

In addition to disliking exotic conifers, the manner in which they were planted was of concern to Wordsworth. In particular, he railed against the monotony of forestry plantations with their uniform colour, species, and straight edges. Natural woods of mixed native species, with their considerable variety, were much to be preferred in the landscape. Similar opinions in relation to conifer plantations were raised again in the twentieth century, with their lack of diversity and straight boundaries being criticized as being at odds with the Lake District's natural landscape (Figure 6.8). Current forestry planting now takes these into consideration, but the legacy of the earlier controversy may have created a long-lasting negative attitude towards conifers wherever they were planted.



Figure 6.8 'The Hobarton valley—plantation of a kind deplored by all',³⁵⁸ primarily because of the incongruity of the straight boundaries and a lack of diversity of tree species.

³⁵⁸ W.H. Pearsall & W. Pennington, *The Lake District, A Landscape History* (London: 1973), p. 289. The objections occurred in the 1920s and 1930s in relation to the planting of coniferous forests in Ennerdale and Whinlatter.

7. The Victorian era: The heyday for ornamental conifer planting

7.1. Introduction

Whilst a considerable amount has been written, by both modern-day authors and authors of the time, about the style of gardens and the use of flowering plants during the Victorian period, it would appear that little has been written by contemporary authors regarding the ornamental use of conifers in this period. In particular, no studies or comparisons appear to have been made relating to their ornamental use in the various styles of gardens that were prevalent in this era with those created in the Edwardian era.³⁵⁹ In relation to the latter, two new garden styles emerged for gardens: the 'wild garden' as instigated and promoted by the prolific garden author and gardener William Robinson, and a style retrospectively labelled Arts and Crafts.³⁶⁰ This style was most closely associated with the gardens designed by the artist, plantswoman, garden designer, and author Gertrude Jekyll (1843–1932), often in partnership with the architect Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944). Both styles were noticeably different from those considered fashionable in the earlier half of the period, particularly in their hard and soft landscaping, the plants they contained, and their innovative plantings.³⁶¹ These new styles are examined in Section 8.

This section therefore examines: the styles of gardens that were prevalent during the Victorian era prior to the 1880s;³⁶² the choice of conifers that were available; why they were fashionable; and the recommendations for their ornamental use and how, if at all, this varied in the different garden styles during this period. This section does not include their specific use in Bowness. This is examined in Section 9.

7.2. The development of gardens in the Victorian era

During the reign of Queen Victoria (1837–1901), more conifer species were introduced into Britain than at any other time in the history of British gardens.³⁶³ Their arrival also coincided with a period

³⁵⁹ Garden historians consider that as such fundamental change took place in garden styles in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, for the purposes of garden history these decades should be considered part of the Edwardian period rather than in the Victorian period.

³⁶⁰ At the time, these gardens were simply referred to as new or modern with no stylistic label being attached. It was later in the twentieth century, of a date presently unknown, that the term 'Arts and Crafts' was first applied.

³⁶¹ As a consequence, garden historians classify those in the new style as Edwardian rather than Victorian.

³⁶² In relation to garden styles, garden historians frequently refer to late Victorian gardens as being the forerunners to Edwardian gardens, even though the Edwardian era did not commence until the accession of Edward VII in 1901.

³⁶³ See Appendix I, for details on which conifers were introduced during this time.

of great change with profound religious uncertainties and unprecedented social, political, cultural, and economic change.³⁶⁴ These were all the consequence of the considerable advances made in all areas of science and technology, and Britain having an economy no longer based on agriculture but on industry. In the latter endeavour, the country had become the world's first industrial power. Whilst for a few this created fabulous wealth, for the majority poverty was rife and living conditions grim, with slums being commonplace. Pollution and a lack of sanitation also led to the spread of diseases and early deaths, particularly amongst children. Working conditions were no better, with factory workers being little more than 'fuel to feed the factory smoke'.³⁶⁵

Between these two extremes, there was a burgeoning and increasingly wealthy middle class.³⁶⁶ Many members of this section of society, wanting to avoid the polluted areas of towns and cities such as Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, and Leeds in the industrial north, moved out of the centres of these places to newly created leafy suburbs where comfortable and often imposing homes, referred to at the time as villas, had recently been built (Figure 7.1).³⁶⁷



Figure 7.1 'The Firs', a typical Victorian villa in Edgerton, a leafy suburb of Huddersfield, North Yorkshire (2016).

³⁶⁴ Religious uncertainty was compounded by a greater understanding of Earth's geological processes and Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species* (London: 1859). Refer to bibliography for full title.

³⁶⁵ John Ruskin, 'Nature of Gothic', *Stones of Venice*, new edn (London: 1898), p. 149.

³⁶⁶ 'Middle class' is a term that was not known at the start of the Victorian era, and there are no reliable sources as to the percentage of the population that comprised this group at this time.

³⁶⁷ The term 'villa' originated in ancient Rome, where it was used to describe country houses owned by the upper classes of Roman society. The term continued to be used in Italy, particularly in the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. However, in England, it was not until the eighteenth century that 'villa' was applied to a number of country houses. In the nineteenth century the term was then extended to describe any free-standing suburban house of any size that was surrounded by a garden. Examples of these are particularly evident in the area known as Edgerton, in Huddersfield, West Yorkshire, where many fine suburban villas were built. Whilst these were once surrounded by large gardens, these have subsequently been divided up and built upon, often with several houses.

As most of these villas had gardens, and often substantial ones, a whole new section of society became interested in gardening. This pursuit was encouraged by several factors, including the considerable advances that had been made in horticulture, the availability of all manner of plants including conifers, technological innovations for greenhouses, and many improvements in gardening equipment such as the introduction of lawnmowers. Gardens became an essential and integral part of villa life and, together with parks and recreational areas, created a very pleasant living environment for affluent middle-class Victorian families. Whilst large numbers of conifers were planted in the gardens of stately homes, a considerable boost to their ornamental use was undoubtedly given by the creation of these villa gardens.³⁶⁸ It is also noticeable that significant numbers of these villas, wherever they were situated in the country, had names related to conifers such as 'The Cedars' or 'The Firs', such names reflecting an appreciation of these trees at this time.

The influences on garden design during this period were numerous and were frequently driven by philosophies and theories completely unrelated to gardens. Instead, they often reflected wider concerns and opinions of the day, particularly those of many artists and progressive thinkers. Such people, having observed the political inequalities and seeing the abject poverty in which large swathes of the population lived, began to question the benefits of industrialization such as mechanization, materialism, consumerism, and capitalism. This led to a reassessment of the status quo of everything from architecture and art, both fine and decorative, to literature and theology. Towards the latter decades of the period, garden styles also came under close scrutiny, leading to severe criticisms being voiced at both their designs and the type of plantings they contained.

Searching for inspiration and a cure for the social and cultural problems of the day, many looked to the past, primarily the medieval period, and 'nature', believing both represented an ideal world untainted by industrialization. Seeking inspiration from nature had already been established by the end of the eighteenth century, most notably by Wordsworth, and was continued by, amongst others, Augustus Welby Northmore Pugin (1812–52), John Ruskin

³⁶⁸ This was in the number of different species and not the number of individual trees, as many millions were planted on estates, but often these consisted of only two or three different species.

(1819–1900) (influenced by Wordsworth), the Pre-Raphaelites (influenced by Ruskin), William Morris (1834–96), and many members of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Even though some of their principles and ideologies differed, they were collectively responsible, either directly or indirectly, for influencing or instigating not only the new styles in the fine and decorative arts but also all aspects of house design, including gardens that occurred in the last two decades of the nineteenth century.

7.3. An eclectic mix of garden styles

It was the landscape designer, prolific horticultural, agricultural, and architectural author, John Claudius Loudon (1783–1843), who ‘furnished early Victorian gardeners with their principal theories’.³⁶⁹ As early as the 1830s, the pages of his own publication, *The Gardener’s Magazine*, were ‘littered with examples of layouts various described by their authors as architectural, geometric, picturesque, Dutch, Elizabethan, Gothic, Italian, French and ancient’.³⁷⁰ Each of these had its own distinct type of plantings, and within larger gardens many different styles of planting could be incorporated. This diversity in garden styles mirrored the innumerable artistic styles that emerged during the same period, with both reflecting the wider social uncertainty and turmoil of the day.³⁷¹ The choice and ornamental use of conifer species in these styles of gardens was dependent upon two factors: firstly, their availability, with many more species and cultivars being available towards the end of the era than at the beginning;³⁷² and secondly, the size of gardens, with large estates giving the greatest scope, small suburban gardens the least, and villa gardens varying according to the size and prestige of the house.

Loudon’s theories on garden design, as on architecture, were eclectic, with a strong bias towards the later work of Humphry Repton (1752–1818).³⁷³ He considered there were two principal styles for laying out grounds, the first being ‘The Geometrical Style’ and the second ‘The Irregular, Natural, or English Style’, and that ‘both were to be regarded equally

³⁶⁹ Brent Elliot, ‘Victorian Garden Design’, *The Garden, A celebration of One Thousand Years of British Gardening* (London: 1979), p. 56.

³⁷⁰ Elliot (1979), p. 57. Loudon founded the *Gardeners Magazine* in 1826. Patrick Taylor considers this magazine, ‘catered to the burgeoning middle-class interest in gardening’. *The Oxford Companion to Gardening* (Oxford: 2006), p. 291. See Ray Desmond ‘Victorian Gardening Magazines’, *Garden History* vol. 5, no. 3 (Winter, 1977), pp. 47–66.

³⁷¹ These artistic styles included: Romanticism, Realism, Impressionism, Divisionism, Symbolism and Aestheticism.

³⁷² Refer to Appendix I for the introduced species during this period.

³⁷³ Loudon described Repton as the ‘eminent landscape-gardener’ and after Repton died he wrote *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton* (Edinburgh: 1840), which also included much of Repton’s writings.

favourably'.³⁷⁴ In formulating his ideas on garden design, Loudon's over-riding principle was that gardens should be seen to be a 'work of art' and as such should display the 'hand of man'.³⁷⁵ Wanting to see the hand of man in a garden design was perhaps why Loudon did not appear to have been influenced by the views of Wordsworth. Instead he appears to have been influenced initially by 'Gilpin, Payne and Knight', and then Repton.³⁷⁶

7.4. John Ruskin

Another contemporary of Loudon, although thirty-six years younger, was the art critic and social reformer John Ruskin. Although described as 'one of the most prolific and influential writers of the nineteenth century', Ruskin was not known at the time as being a garden designer.³⁷⁷ However, he was interested in plants and gardens from a young age and began to realize the significance of nature, and therefore outdoor spaces such as parks and gardens, to the well-being of society.³⁷⁸ Loudon became Ruskin's mentor in the late 1830s, and despite their difference in age, they shared interests in 'architecture, the natural world and sketching'.³⁷⁹ In relation to his sketching, Ruskin wanted to reproduce nature as faithfully as possible, and this aim was exemplified in his many sketches and watercolours.³⁸⁰ However, Ruskin also sought something more than just a slavish imitation of nature, as Tim Barringer has written:

It was his [Ruskin's] conviction that an intense scrutiny, especially of nature, could reveal higher truths: indeed he believed that all truth could be apprehended visually [...] for Ruskin a real insight lay in the combination of the observed and the visionary: he believed that the understanding of natural phenomena should be linked with an imaginative response.³⁸¹

Like Loudon, Ruskin was influenced by the picturesque movement, with his 'earliest tastes for architecture and landscape' being formed by this movement.³⁸² However, as regards his

³⁷⁴ J.C. Loudon, *The Suburban Gardener, and Villa Companion: &c.* (London: 1838), p. 161–63. See Miles Hadfield, *A History of British Gardening* (London: 1960), p. 258.

³⁷⁵ Loudon applied the same principle to architecture. p. 137.

³⁷⁶ Tom Turner, *British Gardens* (London: 2013), p. 261.

³⁷⁷ James S. Dearden, *John Ruskin* (London: 2012) Blurb.

³⁷⁸ Loudon designed the first public park, Derby Arboretum, in 1840.

³⁷⁹ John Dixon Hunt, *The Wider Sea: A Life of John Ruskin* (London: 1982) p. 432. As quoted by Turner, *British Gardens* (2013), p. 323. They possibly first collaborated on *The Landscape Gardening and Landscape Architecture of the Late Humphry Repton* (1840), when Ruskin was only nineteen.

³⁸⁰ Turner also considers Gilpin influenced Ruskin in relation to his pursuit of sketching, *ibid.*, p. 321.

³⁸¹ Tim Barringer, *Reading the Pre-Raphaelites* (London: 2012), p. 59.

³⁸² John Dixon Hunt, *Gardens and the Picturesque: Studies in the History of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge: 1992), p. 193.

views on gardens, he was not able to put these into practice until he moved to Brantwood, overlooking Lake Coniston, in 1871 when he was fifty years old. Here, he developed the 'ethical and moral basis of his thinking through works which both derived directly from, and found expression in, the landscape at his feet'. These took many forms, including: 'experimental landscaping; support and reform of indigenous rural crafts; writings on natural history and ecology and leadership and support for environmental campaigns'.³⁸³ As a consequence, when creating his own garden at Brantwood, Ruskin did not follow any of the recommendations of Loudon. This was not because these were several decades old and rapidly becoming unfashionable but because he wanted to use his garden as an experimental space; an area in which he could place emphasis on the most productive ways in which to grow food to feed the most people.³⁸⁴ Fashionable garden styles were therefore not a priority to Ruskin. Instead, he was following his social conscience in trying to improve the situation of working people by looking back to a utopian ideal, a Garden of Eden.³⁸⁵ In *The Seven Lamps of Architecture* (1849), he argued for healthy and ennobling labour because he believed that the present-day ills of the time were the consequence of the type of degrading work the majority of working people were being forced to endure.

Ruskin's views on nature and looking to the past to an ideal world untainted by industrialization were to become an influential factor in the last decades of the nineteenth century. This was when new ideas were being formulated for garden styles under the auspices of the Arts and Crafts Movement. In relation to his views on conifers, which species and their manner of planting, these are not known, as he was silent on the subject. Given his views on nature, it seems reasonable to assume that, like Wordsworth, he would have preferred native species to exotics, but owing to a lack of evidence, this cannot be substantiated.

7.5. Historical styles

When advocating geometrical designs, Loudon stated they should be used in conjunction with historical styles.³⁸⁶ In addition to Loudon promoting historical styles, they also became

³⁸³ *Nomination Document*, p. 210. Ruskin supported the founding of the Langdale Linen Industry by Alfred Fleming.

³⁸⁴ John Illingworth 'The Picturesque' Ruskin and Gardening, *Garden History*, vol. 22, no 2 (Winter, 1994), pp. 218-233.

³⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 218. In architecture Ruskin also looked to the past, to the Medieval period.

³⁸⁶ At Oxburgh Hall, Norfolk, French parterres were created in accordance with Argenville's theories.

fashionable as a consequence of an upsurge in a nostalgic interest in earlier times, particularly the age of medieval chivalry.³⁸⁷ A number of architects, including Blomfield and John Dando Sedding (1838–91), were also concerned that many historical gardens that they admired as having typified an English Renaissance style had been destroyed by the 'improvers', the most notable one coming in for this criticism being Lancelot Brown.³⁸⁸ Both the architects and a number of authors of the time sought to bring attention to this destruction and to reignite an interest in historical styles.³⁸⁹

7.5.1. Italianate gardens

As a consequence of the demise of seventeenth-century gardens, a renewed interest was taken in those that were thought to have escaped the attentions of the improvers, two notable examples being the gardens of Haddon Hall, Derbyshire (Figure 7.2), and Levens Hall, Cumbria (Figure 7.3 over). In relation to gardens such as these, the garden author M. R. Gloag somewhat derisively commented that it had been fortunate that Brown's work had fallen out of favour 'before every delicious old garden had been destroyed under Brown's fatal influence'.³⁹⁰

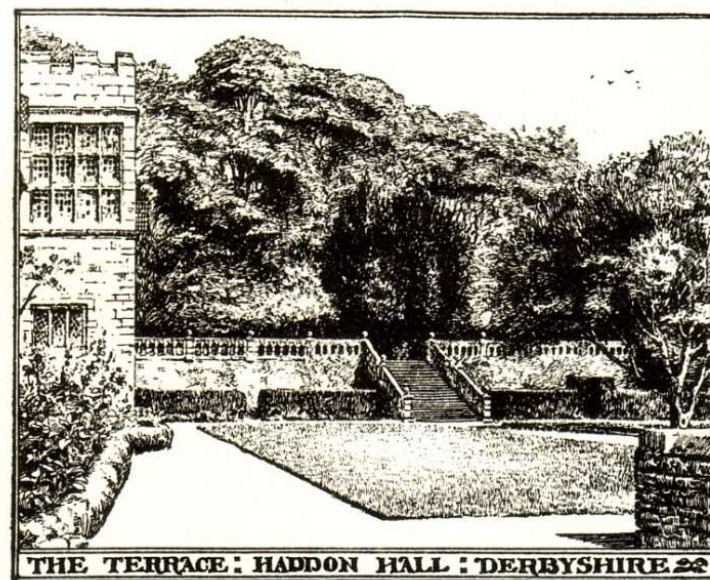


Figure 7.2 Haddon Hall, Derbyshire, by Inigo Trigg, a much-admired, 'delicious old garden'.

³⁸⁷ Particularly as depicted in the legendary tales of King Arthur in 'Le Morte d'Arthur' by Sir Thomas Malory (c. 1415–71). This period was interpreted in the Arts, particularly by the Pre-Raphaelites.

³⁸⁸ Lancelot Brown being considered one of the 'improvers'.

³⁸⁹ Sir George Sitwell, *On the Making of Gardens* (1909).

³⁹⁰ M. R. Gloag, *A Book of English Gardens* (London: 1906), p. 37. Gloag also very disparagingly described Brown as 'a man with little or no genius and less education', p. 35.

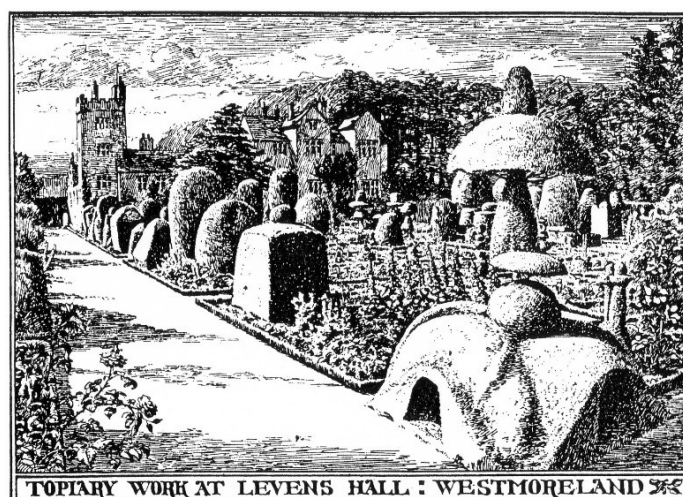


Figure 7.3 Levens Hall, Cumbria.
A garden that was thought to have escaped the attention of the 'improvers'.

Despite English seventeenth-century gardens being admired, initially the most popular, and therefore more widely adopted of the historical styles, was the Italianate. This style was roughly based on Italian Renaissance gardens and was exemplified in the garden designs of Sir Charles Barry (1795–1860), a notable example of his being the Duke of Sutherland's garden at Trentham, Staffordshire, designed in 1833.³⁹¹ Because of their formality and the bedding-out plantings dominating their design, there was little scope for the inclusion of large conifers, but yew, juniper, and smaller cultivars of cypresses were integrated in their designs (Figure 7.4). Barry



Figure 7.4 The upper terrace, of the Italianate garden, Trentham, Staffordshire, by E. Edveno Brooke (1857), a garden designed by Sir Charles Barry in 1833, in which conical and very narrow conifers have been incorporated in this area of the garden.

³⁹¹ Possibly with the assistance of the garden designer William Andrews Nesfield (1793–1881). Frequently, and confusingly, the Italianate style is referred to by authors, past and present, as Italian, which does not make the distinction clear between this style and the style of an English Italian garden as advocated by Sir George Sitwell in *On the Making of Gardens* (1909), and as exemplified in his garden at Renishaw Hall, Derbyshire. To avoid confusion, Italianate is used here for all gardens based loosely on Italian Renaissance gardens and not the style of garden as recommended by Sitwell. For clarity, the latter is referred to as English Italian.

designed many of the gardens belonging to the landed aristocracy,³⁹² and his work epitomized and fully established the style. By the 1850s, this style and bedding-out plantings prevailed over all others, even for smaller gardens (Figure 7.5).³⁹³



Figure 7.5 A fashionable suburban villa garden of the 1870s (unknown artist) with a design and type of planting disliked by authors of the time, including Henry Bright and Forbes Watson. The scope for planting large conifers in gardens of this size and style was either non-existent or limited to the periphery boundaries within mixed plantings of shrubs and deciduous trees.

However, despite Italianate gardens being very fashionable, they were not universally admired. The horticulturalist and garden author Henry Bright, writing in 1880, did not approve of the use of Italianate designs for all gardens, stating: 'But what is all very well for public parks and very important mansions is out of place in smaller country houses, and becomes absurd in small villa gardens'.³⁹⁴

Whether in large or small gardens, the Italianate style, in both its design and plantings, gave little scope for the use of large-growing conifers. As a consequence, these were frequently planted in areas around the periphery of gardens where space was limited or in other areas of larger gardens. This is evident in many photographs of gardens in *Country Life* (which were often taken several decades later), including the Italianate garden at Blickling Hall, Norfolk, designed by William Andrews Nesfield (1793–1881). In the foreground, there is a design

³⁹² Which included the Duke of Bedford's at Harewood House, Yorkshire and the Earl of Shrewsbury's at Alton Towers, Staffordshire.

³⁹³ In addition to Barry, there were other practitioners, three of the most notable being Sir Joseph Paxton (1803–65), George Kennedy (?–?), and William Andrews Nesfield (1793–1881), but Barry remained the main exponent.

³⁹⁴ Henry Bright, *The English Flower Garden* (London: 1881), p. 18.

that is typically Italianate with beds in a symmetrical pattern that contain bedding-out plants. Clipped conifers (probably Irish yews) are very evident in the formal Italianate garden and in the area beyond are lining the avenue. In this area, behind the hedge, which appears to be fronted by conifers, many large-growing conifers are also noticeable, with the shape of those with conical crowns suggesting they were false cypresses such as Lawson cypress and western red cedar or a mixture of both. Low-growing shrubs, such as rhododendrons, also appear to have been planted amongst these conifers. From the photograph, it is very clear that conifers feature heavily in the garden and that this was probably representative of many other gardens of this time (Figure 7.6).



Figure 7.6 Blickling Hall, Norfolk, Italianate garden designed by William Andrews Nesfield, with clipped *Taxus baccata* 'Fastigiata' — Irish yew, being prominent in the formal garden and larger unclipped conifers growing outside this area (top).

7.5.2. Styles other than Italianate

In addition to the formal geometric style, Loudon also promoted a more natural, irregular style, which, unlike the former, was more suitable for smaller gardens and other areas in the pleasure gardens of large estates. This style encompassed three distinct designs that were described by Loudon as 'gardenesque', 'picturesque', and 'rustic'.

Gardenesque

Of the three styles, 'gardenesque' initially placed the greatest emphasis on the manner in which plants were to be used. Loudon defined this style as being 'the imitation of nature, subjected to

a certain degree of cultivation or improvement, suitable to the wants and wishes of man'.³⁹⁵

This 'certain degree of cultivation' was paramount if the style was to meet Loudon's criteria of not being 'mistaken for one created by nature'.³⁹⁶ According to Loudon, therefore, for a garden to be considered gardenesque, the following had to be undertaken: the improvement of nature and the enhancement of the individual characteristics of plants, with both being combined with the practical requirements of the garden owner. The garden author Patrick Taylor argues it was a design particularly appropriate for the period:

With the growth of the urban population, and many middle-class gardeners looking for an aesthetic that could embrace small gardens — the gardenesque was the right idea at the right time. One of its principles was that individual plants, in particular trees and shrubs, should be planted unaccompanied so that their intrinsic virtues could be best displayed. The lonely monkey puzzle *Araucaria araucana* or the thicket of pampas grass (*Cortaderia selloana*) at the centre of a suburban lawn is perhaps the distillation of the gardenesque idea³⁹⁷ (Figure 7.7).



**Figure 7.7 House at Oxton, by William J. J. C. Bond (c. 1861).
A fashionable *Araucaria araucana* — monkey puzzle (middle foreground)
centrally placed in a circular bed.**

³⁹⁵ Loudon, *The Suburban Gardener* (1838), p. 164.

³⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

³⁹⁷ Taylor (2006), p. 162.

Loudon also explained the manner of planting for this style: 'where the gardenesque style of imitating nature is to be employed, the trees, shrubs and herbaceous plants must be separated'.³⁹⁸ He then expanded on how this should be undertaken for parkland: 'every tree and shrub [should be] kept distinct, and every one trained into a symmetrical shape'.³⁹⁹ This style of planting was indicated in his book (Figure 7.8), as was the picturesque manner of planting (Figure 7.9). The manner of planting in the top illustration was explained by Loudon

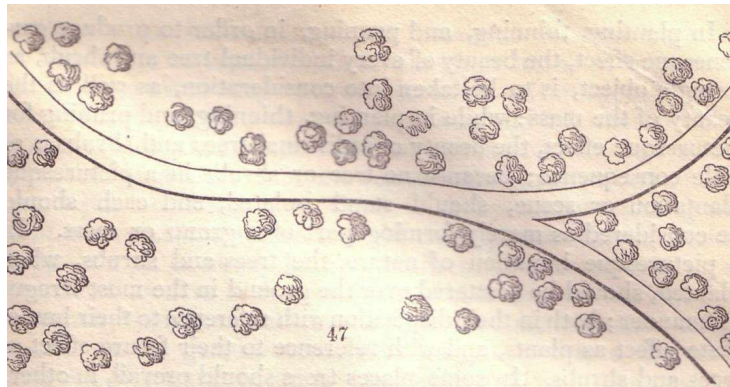


Figure 7.8 According to Loudon: 'trees arranged in the gardenesque manner'.

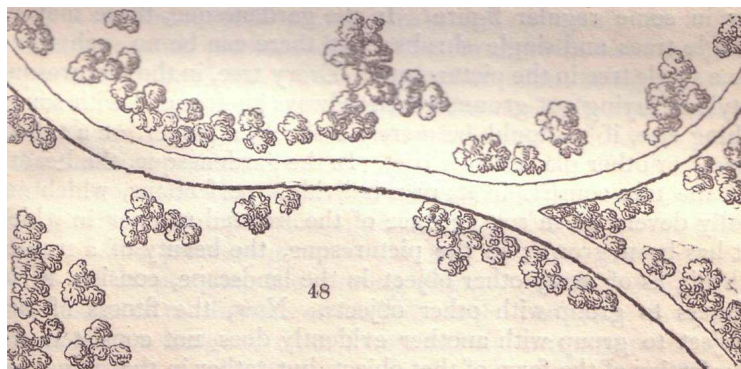


Figure 7.9 According to Loudon: 'trees arranged in the picturesque style'.

in the accompanying text. He argued that 'every gardenesque group must consist of trees which do not touch each other; and which become groups by being as near together as is practicable without touching'.⁴⁰⁰ They were not to be planted at distances equally apart but that the degrees of separation may be as different as the 'designer chooses'.⁴⁰¹ This manner of planting was particularly suitable for the newly established public parks where there was

³⁹⁸ Loudon (1838), p. 164.

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

sufficient room to grow trees as individual specimens.⁴⁰²

Frequently incorporated into gardenesque layouts, particularly for larger gardens and parks, were trees with unusual habits. These were predominantly exotic species and cultivars with interesting and unusual forms. By using non-native trees, this also further emphasized the gardenesque principle of art dominating nature.⁴⁰³ These trees were often placed on specially created mounds, allowing their characteristics to be displayed to advantage and from all angles. This feature was particularly suitable for displaying the habits of conifers, as the branching structure of many species often reaches down to the ground.⁴⁰⁴ The gardenesque style of planting, as advocated by Loudon, was however soon 'modified, if not distorted, by later authors such as Edward Kemp (1850), who defined it as seeking beauty of lines and variety — mixed and irregular'.⁴⁰⁵ It was no longer a style principally concerned with a method of planting but instead became another style for a garden 'where an incongruous mixture of garden elements borrowed from various disparate architectural traditions and artistic styles' were combined in a style far removed from Loudon's original propositions.⁴⁰⁶ This style was also short-lived, as it became unfashionable in the latter decades of the nineteenth century, although the concept of having a number of disparate elements has remained in many gardens to the present day.

Picturesque and rustic

Although these styles were promoted by Loudon, neither would appear to have been popular, as other authors of the time are silent on the subject. It is also not known how many gardens were created in these styles, but in comparison with historical styles they are likely to have been very few in number. As a consequence, both styles would appear to have been insignificant during this period. Loudon was also not very clear in his descriptions of the styles and how they differed from each other. This was evident when he described the picturesque style as an imitation of nature in a wild state and the rustic style as being an imitation of 'common nature as

⁴⁰² An example being Derby Arboretum, where this manner of planting is still evident today.

⁴⁰³ Caroline Ikin, *The Victorian Garden* (Oxford: 2012), p. 75.

⁴⁰⁴ An example of conifers being planted on mounds is in the pinetum at Biddulph Grange Garden, Staffordshire, where various conifers are displayed on mounds, including monkey puzzles.

⁴⁰⁵ Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History* (Princes Risborough: 2006), p. 55.

⁴⁰⁶ Ikin (2012), p. 73.

to deceive the spectator into an idea that they are real or fortuitous'.⁴⁰⁷ Although he is considered to have been influenced by the views of those connected with the picturesque movement, his theories in relation to this are unclear. As a consequence, the distinction he makes between his picturesque style and the rustic style is indiscernible.

The distinction he makes between his picturesque and gardenesque styles is also a little vague, but he did explain the difference in relation to a path: to be a gardenesque, a path not only had to be serpentine in shape but also had to have margins that were definite and smooth, whereas in contrast a path which was picturesque had to have margins that were indefinite and rough. Whilst Loudon's illustration of how trees should be planted in parkland clearly gives the difference in tree planting between the gardenesque and picturesque — with the latter not having evenly spaced trees but instead being in clumps — (Figures 7.8 & 7.9), he gave no information as to the type of tree planting required for the rustic style. Both of these styles also appear at odds with Loudon's principle of the hand of man, and art dominating nature, being paramount.

Loudon's over-riding principle was that that no matter which style was employed or artistic endeavour used: 'it must always be borne in mind, that as landscape gardening is as useful as well as an agreeable art, no beauty must ever be allowed to interfere with the former quality', and that the design of a garden was subject to the 'personal considerations' of the owner.⁴⁰⁹ No doubt, such personal considerations would have influenced which conifers were planted in gardens. He also considered that the advantage of all of the designs that he promoted was that whichever was preferred, it could be scaled up or down to apply equally well to a small or large garden.

7.6. The availability of conifers

Without the introduction of exotic conifers and the increase in their availability, the manner of planting in any of the designs being advocated at this time would have been restricted to just three native species and their cultivars. However, by the middle of the nineteenth century and increasingly through to the twentieth, new conifer species and cultivars were being introduced

⁴⁰⁷ Ikin (2012), p. 73.

⁴⁰⁹ In *The Suburban Gardener* (1838), Loudon gives his views, in great detail, on the 'laying out and planting' of gardens, Ch. III (1838), pp. 131–674.

in ever-increasing numbers. The availability of these was greatly assisted by the considerable increase in the number of nurseries being established in the country,⁴¹⁰ with eighty trading in the Manchester area alone.⁴¹¹ Many of these nurseries were founded as family businesses, as the garden designer Mathew Wilson has written: 'Victorian Britain was littered with horticultural dynasties', with one of the most eminent being the Veitch family who founded nurseries in Exeter and Chelsea.⁴¹² Other notable nurseries included Hilliers in Winchester, Hampshire, founded by Edward Hillier in 1864, Caldwells in Knutsford, Cheshire, and Lakeland Nurseries in Windermere, established in the Lake District in 1884.⁴¹³ Nurseries also specialized in particular groups of plants,⁴¹⁴ and from the available evidence it would appear that Veitch's, amongst all the other plants it grew, also specialized in growing and selling conifers.

Another nursery that appears to have sold conifers is Backhouse Nurseries, Yorkshire; in a photograph in *Country Life*, many are shown being grown in the nursery's grounds (Figure 7.10).



Figure 7.10 Backhouse Nurseries, Yorkshire — conifer-growing area, with a number of different species being evident including *Sciadopitys verticillata* — Japanese umbrella pine (on the left), *Araucaria araucana* — monkey puzzle or Chile pine (partially on the right), and various cypresses.

⁴¹⁰ John Harvey, 'Nurseries and nurserymen and seedsmen', *The Garden, A Celebration of One Thousand Years of British Gardening*, John Harris, ed. (London: 1979), p. 110.

⁴¹¹ See Joy Uings, 'Gardens and Gardening in a fast-changing environment': Manchester 1750–1850' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Manchester Metropolitan University, 2013).

⁴¹² Mathew Wilson, 'Victorian Britain's horticultural dynasties — and why so few remain', *Financial Times*, 26 September 2014, p. 32. By the start of the First World War, Veitch's nurseries had introduced 1281 plants into cultivation.

⁴¹³ Established by Thomas Mawson and his brothers Edward and Robert.

⁴¹⁴ *Kelway's Manual* ([n.p.]: 1913). A comprehensive list all the plants and seeds they offered for sale, totalling 345 pages, is contained in this Manual, examples being Kelway in Langport, Somerset, which offered many perennial plants for sale but especially peonies, and Sanders nursery in St Albans, which specialized in orchids.

Those depicted include a *Sciadopitys verticillata* — Japanese umbrella pine (on the left), an *Araucaria araucana* — monkey puzzle or Chile pine, partially on the right, and false and various cypresses throughout. Nurseries and private individuals had been able to obtain new conifer species because by the beginning of the Victorian era, the quest for new and exotic plants, including conifers, was already well established and continued throughout the period. These were primarily sponsored by the Royal Botanic Gardens at Kew, nurseries, or private individuals.⁴¹⁵ One of the first and most notable plant hunters was Sir Joseph Banks (1743–1820),⁴¹⁶ who went on numerous expeditions, discovering many new plants, with one of his most successful being with Captain James Cook on his voyage to the Antipodes on HMS Endeavour.⁴¹⁷ After his own plant hunting days were over, Banks then appointed others to continue his quest for new plants, including Francis Masson (1741–1806) and Archibald Menzies (1754–1842), with the latter bringing home the first seeds of the *Araucaria araucana* — monkey puzzle. The Royal Horticultural Society, which had been founded in 1804, also sponsored plant hunters, with David Douglas (1798–1834) being one of their most successful. It was Douglas who, probably more than any other, changed the British landscape in many places because of the conifers he discovered.⁴¹⁸ Of the nurseries that sponsored plant hunters, the most notable was Veitch & Sons.⁴¹⁹ This nursery sponsored the brothers William and Thomas Lobb, who were responsible for the commercial introduction of *Sequoiadendron giganteum* — Wellingtonia and *Thuja plicata* — western red cedar, both from North America.⁴²⁰ In 1854, a nursery in Edinburgh, Lawson & Son, was responsible for the introduction of one of the most ubiquitous conifers in Victorian England, *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* — Lawson cypress.

A private individual who sponsored plant-hunting expeditions was the 6th Duke of Devonshire (1790–1858). His garden at Chatsworth, Derbyshire, was on a grand scale and, in

⁴¹⁵ By 1896, many species and cultivars were being grown in the Royal Botanic Garden at Kew. These were listed in *Hand-list of Coniferae Grown in the Royal Botanic Gardens* (London: 1896).

⁴¹⁶ Banks, in all but name, was the first director of the Botanic Gardens at Kew.

⁴¹⁷ Returning with approximately 1300 new plants.

⁴¹⁸ These included: *Abies procera*, *A. grandis*, *Pseudotsuga menziesii*, *Picea sitchensis*, *Pinus sabiana*, *P. radiata*, *P. contorta*, *P. monticola*, *P. lambertiana*, *P. coulteri*, and *P. ponderosa*.

⁴¹⁹ Established sometime before 1808 by John Veitch. In addition to the nursery at Chelsea, one was also established in Exeter. James H. Veitch's *Hortus Veitchi* (1906) gives information not only on all the plants they introduced but also on the activities and expeditions of their plant hunters.

⁴²⁰ Initially, this tree had the Latin name *Thuja lobbii*, in recognition of William Lobb but, much to the regret of Veitch's Nursery, was later given the name *Thuja gigantea* and then today's name of *Thuja plicata*.

addition to having virtually every style and every horticultural innovation, included both an arboretum and a pinetum. When creating this garden, the Duke was helped and influenced by his head gardener, Joseph Paxton (1803–65). Owing to his wealth, the Duke was able to add to his collection by financing plant-hunting expeditions to all over the world. These were often led by Chatsworth gardeners until two of them, Robert Wallace and Peter Banks, were drowned when crossing the Columbia River.⁴²¹ The Duke's desire to collect trees was noted by W. Adam, who commented on Chatsworth's arboretum: 'Its object is to accommodate and naturalise every species of foreign tree and shrub, thousands of them having been already planted, arranged systematically on the sunny cliffs of Chatsworth'.⁴²² An idea of the scale of the conifer planting that was undertaken at Chatsworth at this time can be gleaned from the estate's accounts, which include an 1871 invoice from the nursery, Richard Gregory and Sons, in Froggatt, Derbyshire. This listed the considerable numbers of conifers purchased for that year, which included for the month of April: '200 English yew, 1000 Scotch fir, 40,000 larch, 800 Lawson cypress, and 1250 Weymouth pine'.⁴²³

7.7. Conifer species — suitability

By the middle of the nineteenth century, conifers were recognized as having a dual role, firstly in forestry and secondly in gardens for ornamental planting. For the latter purpose, many species were considered eminently suited, as the professional horticulturalist John Weathers acknowledged: 'Amongst forest and ornamental trees and shrubs members of the Conifer family hold a deservedly high place'.⁴²⁴ However, as the garden author Walter Wright noted, choosing any plant for a garden, whether a conifer, deciduous tree, shrub, or herbaceous plant, was not without its difficulties:

The multitude of shrubs and trees, and the countless ways in which they may be planted, present a keen problem for the planter. He has to consider (1) the balance between shrubs and trees, (2) the proportions of habits and harmonizing of colours, (4) beauty for all seasons of the

⁴²¹ Deborah, Duchess of Devonshire, *Explore the Gardens at Chatsworth* ([n.p.]: 2005), p. 21.

⁴²² W. Adam, *The Gem of the Peak, or Matlock Bath and its Vicinity* ([n.p.]: 1845), p. 152.

⁴²³ Chatsworth Archives, Chatsworth, Garden Box (no numbered or referenced documents inside).

⁴²⁴ John Weathers, *Commercial Gardening*, in Four Volumes (London: 1913), Vol. I, Section XXXI 'Conifers and Taxads', p. 59. Although probably not used here in a taxonomic sense, the use of 'Family' is not correct. Conifers are a distinct group of plants whose members are in various families.

year, [and] (5) the respective claims of many candidates for comparatively few places.⁴²⁵

All the points Wright made were, and still are, relevant when choosing conifers, particularly because, given their potential size, their impact on the design of a garden is considerable. As a consequence, there was a recognition that gardeners, particularly amateur ones, needed help in making the right choice, and so books were published, including Wright's, in which helpful advice was given as to the suitability, both aesthetically and horticulturally, of various conifers for planting in gardens.

The available books were of two types: firstly, those aimed at botanists that contained up-to-date scientific information, and secondly those that included practical horticultural information specifically to instruct gardeners, garden owners or foresters.⁴²⁶ However, very few of these books were devoted in their entirety to this group of trees with many only having a single chapter on the subject, frequently under the title 'Evergreens'. It is also evident that authors borrowed heavily from each other's works, and it was commonplace for the same illustrations to appear in more than one book. The way in which authors tackled the subject of conifers can be roughly divided into the following categories: those that only gave the physical characteristics and planting requirements of conifers; those that only discussed their history, folklore, and decorative qualities for pleasure ground, parks, and gardens;⁴²⁷ and finally those that placed emphasis on their economic (timber) value, an example of the latter being: *The Forester* by James Brown, published in 1847.⁴²⁸

In the latter decades of the century, it was *Veitch's Manual* that was the most authoritative book on conifers. It not only promoted the use of conifers but also from the book's black and white illustrations gave a very clear indication of how conifers had been used several

⁴²⁵ Wright, *Garden Trees and Shrubs* (1913), p. 69.

⁴²⁶ James Brown, *The Forester or A Practical Treatise on the Planting, Rearing, and General Management of Forest-Trees* (London: 1872), and 6th edn, ed. by John Nisbet (London: 1894). This book (and its further editions) was considered the most authoritative on forestry at the time, particularly as the subsequent editions included all the newly introduced species and cultivars that had arrived by the date of publication. See R. G. C. Desmond, 'Victorian Horticulture: A Guide to the Literature' *Garden History* Vol. 5, No. 2 (Winter, 1977), pp. 1–9. However, a later book, William Dallimore's and Bruce Jackson's *Handbook of Coniferae*, published in 1923, superseded this book and remained the classic book on *Coniferae* for the next forty years.

⁴²⁷ Including: E. T. Cook, *Trees and Shrubs for English Gardens* (1902); Rev. C. A. Johns, *British Trees and Shrubs*, first published in 1869. Second impression edited by E. T. Cook and W. Dallimore: the tenth edition was published in 1912, under the title *The Forest Trees of Britain*, ed. by Professor G. S. Boulger.

⁴²⁸ Brown, *The Forester* (1847).

decades prior to the book's publication. In many respects, the book (both editions) was therefore a retrospective review of conifers, particularly as the illustrations depict very mature trees in well-established gardens. In addition to the illustrations, there was a section of the book (Part III) — albeit a relatively short one — that described 'The Various Purposes for which the Coniferae are Planted', with eleven purposes being recommended and reflecting how conifers had been used.⁴²⁹ These included 'The Pinetum', which the garden author and editor of *The Garden* E. T. Cook was in favour of, as he stated: 'The practice that is frequently adopted of forming a pinetum and bringing together the members of this family in one part of the grounds is a very good one. It is far better than sprinkling them indiscriminately over the whole garden'.⁴³⁰ Most villa gardens were not, however, of a sufficient size to accommodate a pinetum; instead, conifers were planted in mixed plantings, which often constituted a small arboretum. Sections on 'The Park', 'The Lawn and Pleasure Grounds', and 'Avenues' were also included. For the latter, *Veitch's Manual* recommended species that were 'symmetrical in habit, hardy in constitution, and clothed with foliage of a distinct and pleasing colour' and most particularly those that were 'superior to others in producing [a] stately and picturesque effect'.⁴³¹ These included *Wellingtonia* and monkey puzzle (Figures 7.11 & 7.12), but not all authors admired the



**Figure 7.11 The Araucaria Avenue at Bicton, Devon (1900).
planted under the direction of James Veitch and with trees supplied by the Veitch's Nursery.**

⁴²⁹ *Veitch's* (1881) Full the full list and description, refer to pp. 220–335.

⁴³⁰ Cook, *Trees and Shrubs* (1902), pp. 104–05.

⁴³¹ *Veitch's* (1881), p. 328.

latter for avenues, including Cook, who argued: 'Perhaps the worst of all uses to which conifers have been put is that of forming long avenues across parks. It is difficult to understand the frame of mind that would prefer rows of *Araucaria*, *Abies nobilis*, or other similar things — however well grown and pyramidal they might be — to a noble vista of Chestnut, Oak, or Lime with its canopy of branch and foliage overhead'.⁴³² A contrasting view was in *Veitch's Manual*, which stated 'Whether solitary or planted in avenues [...] the most effective of all Conifers for contrast', with the *Araucaria* avenue at Bicton in Devon being given as a fine example (Figure 7.12).⁴³³ This avenue was described as presenting: 'the most striking and remarkable arboricultural effects that can be seen in this country'.⁴³⁴ Avenues were, however, only



Figure 7.12 The Wellingtonia and Araucaria Avenue at Combe Wood.

possible on large estates. 'Evergreen Hedges' were also included and for that purpose *Veitch's Manual* stated conifers were 'some of the best subjects for the formation of evergreen hedges that are intended for ornamental use as well as useful purposes'.⁴³⁵ Surprisingly not included in this, or any other section, was the use of yew for topiary, which, at this time, 'became a celebrated garden feature' with illustrations of historical examples being produced in various

⁴³² Cook (1902), p. 104.

⁴³³ *Veitch's* (1900), p. 300.

⁴³⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴³⁵ *Veitch's* (1881), p. 329.

publications of the time (Figure 7.13).⁴³⁶ Other purposes for which Veitch considered conifers

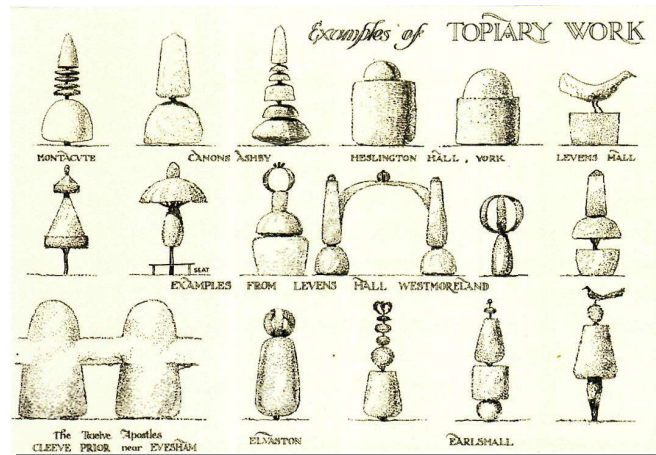


Figure 7.13 Examples of historical topiary work, H. Inigo Triggs (1902) (Plate 106).

were suitable were for 'Belts and Screens', in 'Cemeteries and Burial Grounds',⁴³⁷ and as 'Memorial Trees'. For the latter purpose, Veitch's argued that 'The great age and size attained by many of the Coniferae, together with their majestic aspect, render them especially appropriate for perpetuating the memory of events and circumstances', with the cedar of Lebanon being particularly appropriate for this purpose.⁴³⁸

7.8. The recommendations for ornamental planting

The manner in which conifers were planted for ornamental purposes during the Victorian era can also be gleaned from books of the time. This is because an increasing number of illustrations (whether paintings, drawings, or photographs) were included that depicted gardens in which conifers were growing.⁴³⁹ However, it is also evident that there was a distinct lack of written information on how conifers should be planted, in a garden, pleasure ground, or parkland, to give the most pleasing effect aesthetically.⁴⁴⁰ Only occasionally are recommendations made, such as that by Shirley Hibberd who promoted a different and innovative style of planting. This was to combine different species of trees and shrubs in what became known as shrubberies.

⁴³⁶ Ikin, *The Victorian Garden* (2012), p. 94.

⁴³⁷ Conifers were planted extensively in these areas.

⁴³⁸ Veitch's (1881), p. 332.

⁴³⁹ Such as those that appear in *The Formal Garden of England and Scotland* (London: 1902), by the architect H. Inigo Triggs, and in the magazine, *Country Life*.

⁴⁴⁰ Robert Watson, *The Gardener's Assistant*, New Edition, ed. by William Watson, originally published 1859 (London: 1907), which listed conifers but contained no information on their ornamental suitability for various situations in the garden.

Such shrubberies, with mixed plantings, became a common sight, particularly in 'many rectory and villa gardens'.⁴⁴¹ The idea of planting the smallest plants at the front and the tallest, including trees, at the back in these shrubberies also became well established. Conifers were ideal for such schemes, and being evergreen and narrower than most deciduous trees, they could be more readily incorporated into mixed shrubberies and borders, particularly those that were on the boundary of gardens.

The only author who appears to have written in any detail about the manner in which conifers should be planted was Loudon in *The Suburban Gardener*.⁴⁴² Although he clearly wanted this book to cater for the new middle-class garden owners, he also gave information to those owning larger estates. In both endeavours, his book was exceptionally detailed, giving all the necessary requirements, both practical and aesthetic, for creating and managing a house and garden. In relation to both of these, he formulated criteria for ranking them from 'First Rate' to 'Fourth Rate'. The ratings were independent of each other, so that it was possible for a second-rate villa to have a third-rate garden or a first-rate garden to have a second-rate villa. In addition to including garden plans for each of the ratings, illustrations were also included. These clearly depicted trees and where in the garden they were planted, as is shown in the illustration of a third-rate garden (Figure 7.14). Such a garden was described by Loudon as

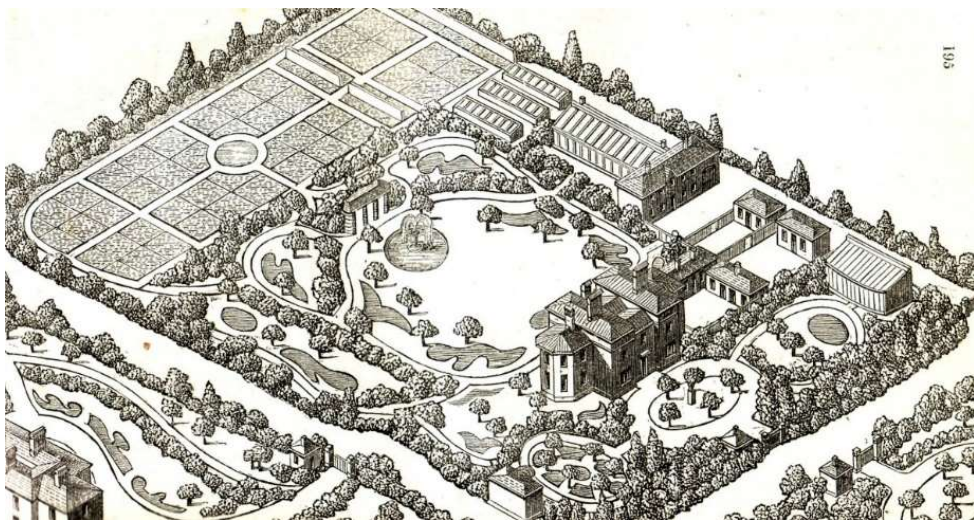


Figure 7.14 A 'Third-Rate Garden', as illustrated in Loudon's *Suburban Gardens*. Conifers are evident by their conical shape, particularly in the boundary plantings.

⁴⁴¹ Shirley Hibberd, *Rustic Adornments* (1856). As quoted in, Richard Gorer, 'The Gardenesque Garden 1830–1890', *The Garden A Celebration of One Thousand Years of British Gardening*, ed. by John Harris (London: 1979), p. 47.

⁴⁴² J. C. Loudon *The Suburban Gardener and Villa Companion* (Edinburgh: 1838). For the full file, see Bibliography.

having 'the house at some distance from the entrance gate' and 'in which the lawn, pleasure ground, and kitchen garden are combined; and they may be an acre or more in extent'.⁴⁴³ There are numerous trees contained in this garden, with many planted on the boundaries of this and those of adjacent properties. Others are planted throughout the garden with the exception being the kitchen garden. Those depicted with a conical habit probably represent conifers, and from the number that have been included, in this and other illustrations, it is clear that they were a notable feature in all gardens, irrespective of the garden's rating.

Loudon was also uncompromising regarding his principles in relation to tree planting and why he considered they were essential in a garden:

Trees are wanted throughout the grounds to connect one object with another; to unite the house with the offices, and partially to conceal the latter; and to unite the place as a whole with other places in the neighbourhood, or with the adjoining scenery. Trees are also required for shade, and for shelter.⁴⁴⁴

In addition, he stressed that the choice of which tree to grow should be 'guided by common sense'.⁴⁴⁵ Therefore, a small garden should have 'trees of small size' and not those that 'attain a very large size'.⁴⁴⁶ Similarly, in a smaller garden, preference should be given to trees with 'showy flowers or fruit' rather than those which have inconspicuous flowers and fruit.⁴⁴⁷

Over and above giving general advice, Loudon also recommended various species suitable for planting in specific areas of the garden. With regard to which conifers to plant, this was the same as for deciduous flowering trees in that the choice was very much dependent upon the design of the garden. As well as illustrations and plans for each of the ratings, he also gave tree planting lists for first-, second-, third-, and fourth-rate gardens. However, it should be noted that at the time he made these lists, there were significantly fewer species and cultivars from which to choose than there were at the end of the century.⁴⁴⁸ Loudon also provided information in great detail and at great length on how to plant trees in parkland.⁴⁴⁹ He

⁴⁴³ Veitch's (1881), p. 171.

⁴⁴⁴ Loudon (1838), p. 528.

⁴⁴⁵ Ibid. For his advice and complete recommendations for planting in a 'Third-Rate Garden', refer to: pp. 40–547.

⁴⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁸ For the full list of introduced conifers, see Appendix I.

⁴⁴⁹ Loudon (1883), pp. 151–52, for this advice.

explained, for example, how order could be achieved, particularly in relation to the method of distributing conifers when they were mixed together with deciduous trees:

Chiefly, we should say, by keeping each sort by itself, and placing all those sorts nearest each other which are most alike; avoiding all formality in the outline of the spaces allotted to each sort; and allowing these spaces to indent or ramify into one another ⁴⁵⁰ (Figure 7.15).



**7.15 The manner of planting conifers together with deciduous trees
As recommended by Loudon.**

Although it is likely that Loudon's guidelines were followed, there are currently no known examples of parkland that have archival material to substantiate this.

Although *The Suburban Gardener* was unique amongst the publications of the day for providing all the information on the practicalities of suburban living, Loudon's most influential book on describing the physical qualities of trees and shrubs, including conifers, was contained in his *Arboretum et Fruticetum Britannicum*. In the abridged edition, which, owing to its lower cost, would have been more readily available to gardeners, emphasis was again placed on the physical characteristics of individual species rather than on describing how they should be planted to achieve a decorative and artistic effect. ⁴⁵¹ He also rarely commented on the aesthetic qualities a tree could bring to a garden, with one notable exception being *Cedrus libani* — cedar of Lebanon, which he considered, 'as an ornamental object, is most magnificent; uniting the grand with the picturesque, in a manner not equaled by any other tree in Britain, either indigenous or introduced'. ⁴⁵²

⁴⁵⁰ Loudon (1883), pp. 151–52.

⁴⁵¹ Possessing an equally tortuous title page as the original publication, for which see Bibliography, but the latter section on Management and Uses in the Arts etc. in the original publication has been omitted.

⁴⁵² Loudon, *Trees and Shrubs* (1883), p. 1058.

More information than was contained in books was perhaps disseminated by keen conifer collectors and head gardeners of landed estates, who often knew each other very well and would only have been too pleased to discuss their latest conifer acquisitions. The head gardener at Elvaston in Derbyshire — the seat of the Earls of Harrington — William Barron (1805–91) was a notable conifer expert and had become famous after the garden had opened to the public in the 1850s enabling people to see the extraordinary topiary (Figure 7.16).



Figure 7.16 Elvaston, Derbyshire — the extraordinary examples of topiary in this garden helped to make both fashionable in the mid-1850s.

Barron was evidently passionate about conifers, and it has been argued that 'the pinetum only occupied part of the ground [as] he perceived the whole of Elvaston to be one large pinetum artistically treated'.⁴⁵³ In addition, the garden and pinetum 'demonstrated the possibilities of colour and shape throughout the year, helping to make evergreens and topiary the height of fashion in Britain, Europe and North America'.⁴⁵⁴ In addition to being head gardener, Barron was also a nurseryman, specializing in conifers, and an author. His *British Winter Garden* (1852) extolled the virtues of conifers in that particular season.

7.9. Scope for planting

As gardens of large estates were unrestricted in the size they could attain, they were able to

⁴⁵³ Paul Elliott, Charles Watkins and Stephen Daniel 'William Barron (1805–91) and Nineteenth-century British Arboriculture: Evergreens in Victorian Industrializing Society', *Garden History*, 35, Supplement 2 (2007), p. 129.

⁴⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 135.

accommodate variously styled or themed areas. Depending on the preferences of their owners, these could include: an Italianate garden, a Japanese garden, a rock garden, a water garden, a rose garden, a fernery, a stumpery, an arboretum, and a pinetum. Unlike in Italianate gardens, where the scope for planting conifers was very limited, there were no such restrictions in many other areas of the garden, particularly in arboretums and pinetums. Here, there were unlimited possibilities for planting conifers, and many garden owners avidly sought the newest arrivals with considerable competition as to who obtained them first. However, even where gardens were limited in size, Jane Loudon (1807–58), the wife of Loudon, commented that arboretums were 'now so fashionable', not only for public pleasure grounds, wealthy individuals, and institutions, but also for 'small villa residences', as they provided 'the most effectual means of procuring a maximum of enjoyment in a minimum of space'.⁴⁵⁵ The garden historian Katherine Bradley-Hole has noted this, commenting: 'Many country gardens were defined by their trees, especially the majestic cedar of Lebanon (and to a lesser extent, the deodar) which, since the days of Capability Brown, no house of any stature would be without'.⁴⁵⁶

For those with sufficient wealth, a large garden, and a desire to collect conifers, a pinetum was an essential addition to their gardens. In his pinetum, created in 1829, the 6th Duke of Devonshire was able to grow and expand his collection of conifers, particularly those from the north-west coast of North America.⁴⁵⁷ Many of these conifers had been discovered by David Douglas, and a tree whose common name in Britain is named after Douglas, *Pseudotsuga menziesii* — Douglas fir, was in the Duke's collection. He mentioned the growth of a particular specimen in his handbook: 'that is the Douglas pine, the pride of California; in 1829 it came down in Mr Paxton's hat, and in 1845 it is 35 feet high'.⁴⁵⁸ In obtaining conifers for pineta, there was an element of competition between owners with regard to which conifer species they had acquired, the rarer being the most sought after and coveted. In addition to the Duke of Devonshire's collection, others of note at the end of the nineteenth century included the Duke of Bedford's, at Woburn, Bedfordshire; Lady Rolle's at Bickton, Devon; Lord Grenville's at

⁴⁵⁵ As quoted in: Paul Elliott, et al., *ibid.*, *Garden History*, vol. 35: Supplement 2, 2007, p. 6.

⁴⁵⁶ Katherine Bradley-Hole, *Lost Gardens of England, from the Archives of Country Life* (London: 2004), p. 13.

⁴⁵⁷ In which over thirty different species were grown.

⁴⁵⁸ Duchess of Devonshire, *The Gardens at Chatsworth*, Guidebook ([n.p.]: 2005), p. 24.

Dropmore, Buckinghamshire; the Earl of Harrington's at Elvaston, Derbyshire; Mr W. R. Baker's at Bayfordbury, Hertfordshire; and Mr T. Gambier Parry's at Highnam Court, Gloucestershire. The manner of planting conifers in a pinetum was to show their individual characteristics, with aesthetic considerations being less important. As a consequence, individual specimens were planted singly or in loose groups of the same species, with sufficient room being given to allow their natural growth to be unimpeded by other trees.

On a more modest scale to Chatsworth's garden, but with an owner who was as equally keen as his aristocratic contemporaries in obtaining as many plants as possible, including conifers, was Biddulph Grange's garden in Staffordshire (Figure 7.17). This garden occupied



**Figure 7.17 China — Biddulph Grange, Staffordshire,
Conifers were planted in the appropriate geographically themed section of the garden.**

approximately three acres and was divided up into variously themed areas in which plants appropriate for that theme were grown.⁴⁵⁹ These areas, which were often enclosed by yew hedging, included China, Egypt, Italy, a Scottish Glen, a stumpery, small arboretum, and a pinetum. This garden was created between the years 1842 and 1860 by James Bateman (1811–97) together with his wife Maria and the marine painter Edward Coke. Bateman's purpose in having a series of separate areas was to accommodate his rapidly expanding collection of plants in the appropriate surroundings. China, therefore, included trees and shrubs from that

⁴⁵⁹ This garden is a Victorian example of a garden having 'rooms' which were later so avidly promoted as being a characteristic of gardens described as Arts and Crafts.

part of the world — including conifers such as *Pseudolarix amabilis* — golden larch.⁴⁶⁰ The garden also contained a pinetum in which many of the conifers obtained by Bateman were planted singly on a mound so that their individual characteristics and their roots were shown to advantage. This was in a manner that appeared to follow Loudon's gardenesque principles, particularly for planting of trees.

7.10. A decline in popularity

The popularity of conifers was at its height in the middle decades of the nineteenth century, when the availability of newly introduced conifers undoubtedly led to an enthusiasm and desire for growing them in Britain. This was in all manner of ways, in different styles and areas of gardens. However, by the 1880s, the fashion and desire for conifers were already beginning to wane, with even the enthusiasm for owning a pinetum declining. This was commented upon in *Veitch's Manual*:

Of late years the practice has fallen into disuse, which is much to be regretted, not only because numerous introductions of new and beautiful kinds have added greatly to the resources at command, so that both variety and effect can be increased in a corresponding degree, but also the knowledge and experience of Coniferous plants in Great Britain is so much enlarged and the mistakes and errors which but too frequently occurred in older plantations, may now with certainty be avoided.⁴⁶¹

In an attempt to revive interest in the use of these trees, the Royal Horticultural Society held a Conifer Conference in 1891 at Chiswick.⁴⁶² Such a conference was probably deemed necessary in order to try and invigorate the interest in growing conifers by extolling their virtues. Different speakers covered a variety of topics, a number of which, in addition to talking about their physical characteristics and suitability for growing in different places, emphasized their beauty and decorative qualities. These talks were: 'Some features of interest in the Order of Conifers by Mr Maxwell T. Masters'; 'The Decorative Character of Conifers' by Edmund J. Baillie; 'Conifers as specimen trees for Landscape gardening by Mr Geo. Nicholson'; and 'The

⁴⁶⁰ The golden larch was introduced into Britain in 1853, and the specimen at Biddulph is considered to be one of the earliest to have been grown in this country.

⁴⁶¹ *Veitch's* (1881), p. 321.

⁴⁶² The proceedings of this conference were reported in the *Journal of the Royal Horticultural Society*, New Series, XIV (London: 1892), hereinafter referred to as '*RHS Journal*'.

Decorative Character of Conifers by Mr A.D. Webster'.

Masters devoted a considerable part of his talk to describing the 'Beauty and Form of Colour' of conifers. This was because he recognized that the growing disinterest in conifers was in part due to many gardeners disliking their lack of variety and the dullness of their colour. This attitude he felt was incorrect, stating, 'Those who assert, as I have heard them assert, that Conifers are monotonous in point of colour can evidently never have seen the trees either when they put on their spring attire or when they don their mature bridal dress'.⁴⁶³ Baillie continued on the theme of the beauty of conifers, arguing that the country had gained significant benefits from their introduction, stating, 'Man has discerned the decorative value of the conifers and has introduced them into Britain, and they are now not aliens, but so much parts of use that without them our decorative resources would be impoverished indeed'.⁴⁶⁴

Writing on a similar theme was the garden author James Anderson who, whilst recognizing the limitations of conifers, promoted their virtues, commenting: 'Evergreen trees form permanent objects of beauty in the landscape [and give] a permanent tone and character to any park or pleasure ground scenery'.⁴⁶⁵ Anderson was also concerned that even where conifers were still being planted, 'It is very questionable, considering the superabundance of material placed at our disposal, and notwithstanding the general progress that characterizes the age, whether the planters of modern times will stand in favourable comparison with those of former years'.⁴⁶⁶

Cook also gave his reason for the decline in their popularity, which was because they had 'displaced to a large extent the beautiful flower-bearing deciduous vegetation whose seasonable variations give such charm and interest'.⁴⁶⁷ But perhaps the most scathing criticism of conifers appeared in *Gardens Illustrated*, in which it was stated that cypresses or varieties of *Thuja* only

add to the commonplace rubbish of our gardens. Often indeed, a good garden may be spoilt by

⁴⁶³ *RHS Journal*.

⁴⁶⁴ Edmund J. Baillie, 'The Decorative Character of Conifers', 'Report of the Conifer Conference', *RHS Journal*, vol. XIV ed. by Rev. W. Wilks & John Weathers (London: 1892), pp. 52–53.

⁴⁶⁵ James Anderson, ed., *The New Practical Gardener and Modern Horticulturalist* (London: 1874), p. 34.

⁴⁶⁶ Anderson (1874), p. 35.

⁴⁶⁷ Cook (1902), pp. 103–04.

them. Even those that are not variegated are poor growers and never make trees. No variegated and few sports of conifers are worth growing.⁴⁶⁸

The declining interest in conifers in the latter decades of the nineteenth century may have been not only as a consequence of a dislike of their characteristics but also related to changing attitudes regarding the style of gardens and use of plants. During the 1880s, a number of garden authors and designers began to realize that many of the gardens created earlier in the 1850s and 1860s, particularly those designed by Nesfield, were neither scholarly nor authentic in their representation of historical styles of gardens. One such garden was Crewe Hall's where, in his parterre design, Nesfield made use of crushed stones of all colours and materials, low box hedging, and bedding-out schemes (Figure 7.18). Such designs were subjected to close

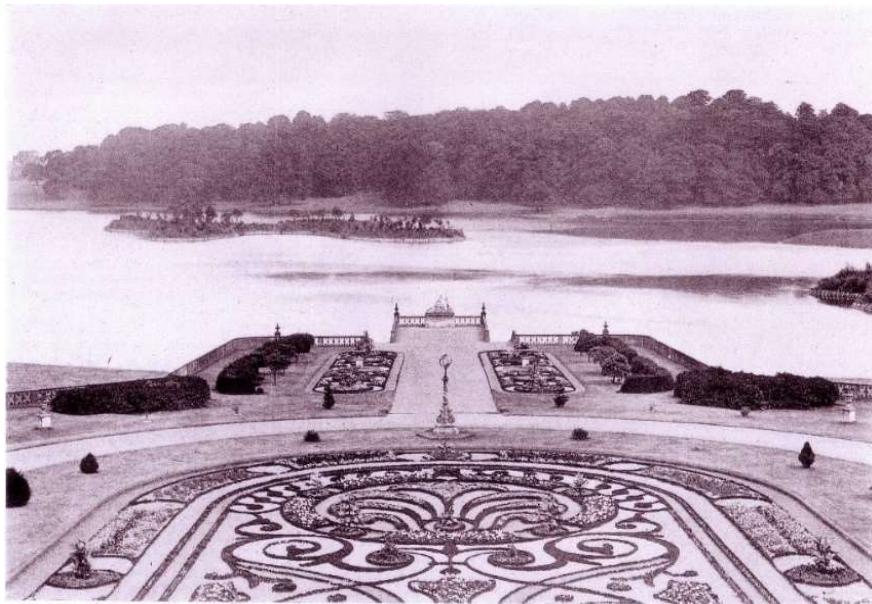


Figure 7.18 Crewe Hall, Cheshire, photograph in *Country Life*. Parterre designed by William Andrews Nesfield — a style very fashionable in the 1850s but being severely criticized by the late 1880s as being historically inaccurate.

scrutiny and severe criticism for their historical inaccuracies, and this led to a growing desire for more accurate design interpretations for gardens.

7.11. Conclusion

The Victorian era was an exceptional time — the heyday — for the planting of conifers in Britain for ornamental purposes. The number of different species and cultivars available, and the scale

⁴⁶⁸ Byfleet, 'Golden Retinosporas' *Gardening Illustrated* (London: 19 March 1910), editor's comments, p. 176.

of planting that had occurred by the end of the century, could not have been envisaged even at the beginning of the century. This scale of planting and the manner in which it occurred are particularly evident in the numerous illustrations and photographs of gardens that appeared in books and magazines in the late nineteenth century.

As a consequence of the numerous species and cultivars available, with their very diverse morphological characteristics, many innovative ways were adopted for their ornamental planting to exploit these differences. These included stately specimens in lawns, unusual trees, such as monkey puzzles for avenues, and those with variously shaped and coloured foliage for mixed plantings. The most notable way in which conifers were used, primarily yew, was for topiary. This practice had been banished during the latter half of the eighteenth century, so its re-emergence in the nineteenth century was particularly notable, appearing as it did in all manner of extraordinary shapes, as evident in gardens such as Elvaston's.

For the first time, conifers also became the subject of plant collections, with pinetums being created to contain as many different species as possible; the greater the number usually equating to the greater size of the garden and wealth of the owner. It was also in the larger gardens, primarily those belonging to landed aristocratic families but also increasingly in those belonging to wealthy industrialists, that the greatest scope for conifer planting occurred. But even in the villa gardens of the middle classes — the numbers of which greatly increased in this century — conifers were considered desirable, even if at times they were totally unsuited to the size of garden, monkey puzzles in small front gardens being a typical example. Conifers were also planted in specific ways, including as Loudon advocated for the gardenesque style, where displaying a tree's individuality was paramount. The advantage of many conifer species was that being narrower than most deciduous trees, they could be more readily incorporated into smaller gardens, either in mixed borders or in borders around the garden's periphery.

For the first three decades of the Victorian era, the styles that emerged and the types of planting being advocated for gardens, as exemplified in the writings of Loudon, were completely at odds with the views of those who promoted following nature for inspiration. This included Wordsworth, who, despite being greatly admired during the Victorian era as a cultural icon, appears to have had no influence on the design of gardens. In addition, and unlike the

views of Gilpin a century earlier, which were influential in the way conifers were assessed for their aesthetic qualities, it does not appear that Wordsworth's views and concerns, expressed in the strongest terms about favouring native species and the inappropriateness of certain conifer species, had a significant influence on Victorian gardeners. The reverse is apparent with artifice and non-native plantings being dominant in gardens throughout this period.

It was Loudon's opinions that prevailed for the first half of the Victorian era, particularly his view that gardens should be seen to be a 'work of art' and as such display the 'hand of man'. Undoubtedly the Italianate style fulfilled this criterion, but in its artificiality this style was about as far removed from Wordsworth's view that gardens should be, as far as possible, indiscernible from nature. In the choice of trees, Loudon's views on planting exotics were also at odds with Wordsworth's preference for native species, and no doubt had they both lived to see the many species and cultivars that were introduced in the second half of the nineteenth century, their opinions would have remained the same, intensely disliked by Wordsworth or admired by Loudon.

Ruskin also had very little direct influence on the design of gardens, being neither a notable horticulturalist, nor a garden author, nor a garden designer, and he made no significant contribution to the ornamental planting of conifers. However, through being influenced by Wordsworth's views on nature, and wishing to improve the living and working conditions of the poor, he became a significant influence on the ideas that led to the emergence of the Arts and Crafts Movement.

Despite being so fashionable in the middle of the century, it is evident from speeches made at the RHS's Conifer Conference in 1891 that a decline in the popularity of conifers had occurred by the time of this conference. (The reasons for this decline are discussed in Section 8.)

8. Modern influences on the design of gardens and ornamental conifer plantings from the 1880s

8.1. Introduction

At the same time as the fashion for conifers appears to have been on the wane, a desire for a different style for gardens emerged. This section therefore examines the designs that were being advocated, whether the demise of conifers continued or if they had a revival in the new gardens being created, if the same or different species were planted, and whether this was in a similar or different manner of planting.

8.2. A reappraisal of old garden designs and emerging new ones

Just as there had been an eclectic mix of new styles for gardens in the early decades of the Victorian era, innovative styles also emerged in the latter decades. This again mirrored the changes that were occurring in architectural styles.⁴⁶⁹ The most prominent garden style to emerge at this time was instigated by architects, particularly Blomfield, John Dando Sedding (1838–91), and H. Inigo Triggs (1878–1923). They all advocated studying the designs of gardens from medieval times to the close of the seventeenth century and referred to the latter as 'Formal Gardens', as a consequence of which any new gardens based on their design were frequently referred to as 'Old English Formal'. In addition, any new gardens that were created were frequently just referred to as 'modern'. A very similar style, but with subtle differences from the Old English Formal was one that has been retrospectively referred to as Arts and Crafts.⁴⁷⁰ Three further styles, but of less significance, were the 'English Italian Garden', as advocated by Sir George Sitwell (1860–1943), and the 'Wild Garden' and 'Woodland Gardens', as promoted by William Robinson. The change in the design of gardens was also accompanied by a different planting style, with the most renowned practitioner of this being the prolific garden author, designer, and exceptional plantswoman, Gertrude Jekyll. It was primarily because of her that flowering herbaceous borders took centre stage not only in many established gardens but also

⁴⁶⁹ Neo-Gothic being replaced by the 'Old English Style', as evident in the work of R. Norman Shaw (1831–1912) and the 'English Vernacular', evident in the work of Philip Webb (1831–1915), and of architects influenced by the Arts and Crafts movement, such as C. H. Voysey (1857–1941) and M. H. Baillie Scott (1865–1945).

⁴⁷⁰ When the term was first applied to a garden's style is not known, but it has been commonplace in recent decades, examples being: Wendy Hitchmough, *Arts and Crafts Gardens* (London: 2005), Sarah Rutherford, *The Arts and Crafts Garden* (Oxford: 2013).

in those newly created.

At the same time as the design of gardens was being reappraised, vernacular architecture also started to be appreciated. Both the latter and formal gardens of the seventeenth century came to be viewed as representing 'Englishness', the reason for this being, as Sedding commented, 'the old types of design [...] are more consonant with the traditions of English life, and [are] more suitable to an English homestead than some now in vogue'.⁴⁷¹ The idea of seeking and re-establishing Englishness as the basis for good workmanship and design, and looking to Nature and the medieval period to achieve this, had been instigated earlier in the period by Augustus Welby Pugin (1812–52), and then later by John Ruskin (1819–1900) and William Morris (1834–96). These same ideas and influences also affected garden design. Although Wordsworth is not credited for having directly influenced 'modern' gardens, through his views on seeking inspiration from nature influencing Ruskin,⁴⁷² and Ruskin in turn influencing the Arts and Crafts Movement, he is considered to have had an indirect impact.

8.3. The 'Old English Formal' style

The 'Old English Formal' style for gardens emerged to redress the lack of authenticity in the historical interpretations for designs of gardens created in the 1850s and 1860s, particularly those designed by Nesfield. In response to this desire, a new genre of gardening books appeared, and in these many illustrations depicted the use of conifers, including *Garden-craft Old and New* (1891) by Sedding, *The Formal Garden in England* (1892) by Blomfield, with illustrations by Inigo Thomas (1865–1950), and *Formal Gardens in England and Scotland* (1902) by the architect H. Inigo Triggs (1878–1923).

Perhaps as a consequence of looking to the past to obtain historical accuracy, a romantic and idealized vision appears to have developed around both extinct and extant old gardens. This vision was encouraged by the publication of a number of books in which individual gardens were romantically illustrated and accompanied by nostalgic, idealized descriptions. One of the most well known of these was *Some English Gardens* (1904) by Jekyll, with illustrations by George S. Elgood. An example in this book was Brickwall, Sussex, in which the

⁴⁷¹ John Dando Sedding, *Garden Craft Old and New* (1891), p. vi.

⁴⁷² Prof. Stephen Wildman 'A Daily Text-book from Youth to Age', lecture at the Wordsworth Trust, Grasmere, January 2017, with reference to John Ruskin's views in, 'The Nature of Gothic' *Stones of Venice*, Vol. II (1898).

garden was described as having: 'yew and beech, to old bowling greens and fish ponds to trees quaintly shaped to stately and picturesque combined'.⁴⁷³ The accompanying illustration depicts these quaintly shaped trees (yews), surrounded by lush herbaceous borders. Originally, these yews would have been a formal geometric shape but, with the passing of time, were left to grow into the large and irregularly shaped pyramids that now loom over the lush herbaceous borders — the latter being designed by Jekyll (Figure 8.1).⁴⁷⁴ Whilst such plantings were



**Figure 8.1 Brickwall, Sussex. by George Elgood (1904).
An idealized and nostalgic vision developed around extant old gardens
encouraged by illustrations such as this.**

admired, they could not be replicated because their shape had been determined by decades of growth. Conifers were therefore planted in a manner similar to those in formal seventeenth-century gardens. Other elements of seventeenth-century designs were also apparent, including topiary, terracing (which rooted the house to its landscape), and straight paths and beds. The only very noticeable difference would have been the conifers that were planted, the majority of which, such as *Thuja plicata* — western red-cedar, were unavailable to seventeenth-century gardeners.

Late nineteenth-century gardeners had no problems in determining the features of seventeenth-century gardens, as many original illustrations depicting them were also being published in various books.⁴⁷⁵ An example of a garden that included many of these features

⁴⁷³ Gertrude Jekyll and G. S. Elgood, *Some English Gardens* (London: 1904).

⁴⁷⁴ Henry Avray Tipping, ed., *Gardens Old and New* (London: 1908), p. 252.

⁴⁷⁵ Mervyn Macartney, *English houses and Gardens in the 17th and 18th centuries. A Series of Bird's-eye Views reproduced from Contemporary Engravings by Kip. Badeslade, Harris and Others* (London: 1908).

was Little Onn Hall, Shropshire, designed by Thomas Mawson. Here, conifers were planted formally, in regular rows and all of a similar size and shape attained by clipping. They were the complete opposite to those in the garden of Brickwall (Figure 8.2). This type of formal garden



Figure 8.2 Little Onn Hall, Shropshire — garden designed by Thomas Mawson. Conifers have been planted in a formal manner in an interpretation of a seventeenth-century formal garden, creating a very different vision from Brickwall.

was evidently favoured for being suitable for the gardens of holiday homes, such as in 1912 when *Country Life* ran a competition for 'An Eight-roomed Holiday Cottage with Garage and Large Garden' (Figure 8.3).⁴⁷⁶ By this time, cottages were perceived as representing a rural idyll,

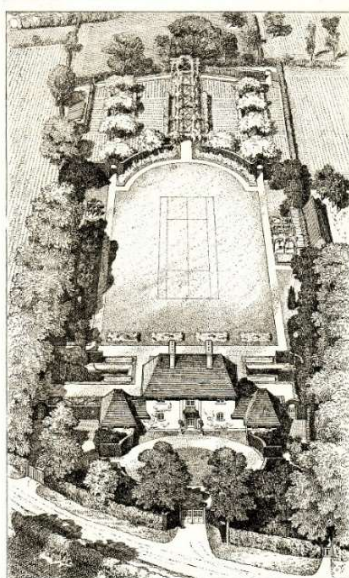


Figure 8.3 'Garden Scheme, Third Prize Design by Geoffry Lucas and Arthur Lodge'.⁴⁷⁷

⁴⁷⁶ The winning entries appeared in Lawrence Weaver's, *The 'Country Life' Book of Cottages*, first published in 1913, 2nd edn (London: 1919).

⁴⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 160, Plate 185.

an innocent countryside, and a bucolic past before the Industrial Revolution. This was a misrepresentation of country life, as squalid conditions were prevalent, and unemployment rife.⁴⁷⁸ However, the idealized image was perpetuated in paintings of the time, particularly in those by Miles Birket Foster (1825–99) and Helen Allingham (1848–1926) (Figure 8.4). As a consequence, there was a desire to emulate cottage gardens in the new gardens being created. However, in reality, and as apparent in Lucas and Lodges' design, these bore no



Figure 8.4 'At the Cottage Door' Watercolour by Miles Birket Foster
An idealized vision of a cottage — far from the reality of such places.

resemblance to a genuine cottage garden. Their design is formal, rather than random, with considerable use being made of formal hedging, presumably of yew, with a few single conifer species dotted about the garden. As these were for affluent members of society, the emphasis in this garden was clearly on recreation — a luxury inconceivable to labouring cottagers — with a tennis court being very conspicuous. Architectural formality prevailed in these designs, and the method of planting conifers was undoubtedly influenced by this formal approach. The only genuine feature that was copied in these new gardens from cottage gardens was topiary.

A fundamental principle being advocated at the time, particularly by architects such as Blomfield, and members of the Arts and Crafts Movement, was that there should be a

⁴⁷⁸ Around the 1880s, cheap imports of grain from America led to a collapse in British farming.

unity between all the arts. It therefore followed that the design of a house, its contents and its garden, should also display a unity, as the German diplomat, architect, author, and commentator on the style of modern gardens of the time, Hermann Muthesius, succinctly expressed it: 'house, garden a unity'.⁴⁷⁹ Blomfield expanded on this, stating:

the basic thesis [...] is that the garden should be a logical extension of the house, reflecting its geometry and style, so that it becomes a series of linked rooms and species of various function and orientation [...] the formal treatment of gardens ought, perhaps [be] called the architectural treatment of gardens, for it consists in the extension of the principle of design which govern the house to the grounds which surround it.⁴⁸⁰

As a consequence, Blomfield and other architects were strongly of the view that architects, and not gardeners, should be responsible for the design of a garden. However, as they rarely knew anything about plants, including conifers, they had to rely on gardeners or nurserymen for the plantings in the gardens they designed. This view brought Blomfield into conflict with Robinson, who held the opposite opinion, that only gardeners, who knew plants, could design a successful garden.

8.4. The influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement on garden design and conifer plantings

By the 1880s, when new styles for gardens were beginning to be advocated, the Arts and Crafts Movement was beginning to emerge. At the core of this movement was a concern about the effects of industrialization on the social and cultural lives of ordinary people as well as the perceived decline in traditional skills. As a consequence of trying to halt any further decline, it became one of the most influential artistic movements of the time with regard to not only decorative objects and furnishings but also architecture and gardens. Although 'London was the focal point for this movement there were significant rural outposts, including the Lake District [where] such enterprises found encouragement from a number of influential figures resident in the area, including John Ruskin, Hardwicke Rawnsley and W. G. Collingwood'.⁴⁸¹ Alan Crawford

⁴⁷⁹ Herman Muthesius, *The English House*, translated by Janet Seligman and ed. by Dennis Sharp, Crosby, Lockwood, and Staples (London: 1979), For his full description of historic and new gardens (including their 'clipped hedges and trees'), see 'The surroundings of the house' 123, pp. 105–23.

⁴⁸⁰ Blomfield & Thomas, *The Formal Garden* (1892) facsimile edn (1985), p. 2.

⁴⁸¹ Jennie Brunton, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in the Lake District: A Social History* (Lancaster: 2001), jacket blurb.

concur but goes further to explain why the movement found expression in places such as the Lake District:

The Arts and Crafts, like almost all modern movements in art, was urban. [...] But its imagination was deeply rural. They filled their work with flowers and trees and birds and leaves. And the countryside was the theatre of their anti-modernism. If they dreamed of an innocent craftsmanlike past before the Industrial Revolution, where could it be but in the countryside? The conviction grew in some of them — and it was always only a small proportion — that they must leave the city and find the true life of craftsmanship in the country. Craft workshops were established in the Lake District,⁴⁸² Surrey and Sussex and most of all in the Cotswolds.⁴⁸³

Today, it is William Morris who is most closely associated with the movement, having been variously described as its father, founder, and 'most influential figure'.⁴⁸⁴ But as Morris never wrote a book on the subject, and never designed any gardens other than his own, the impact he is considered to have had on garden design varies between contemporary authors. An author who considers his contribution was significant is Jill Hamilton, who argues that as Morris made his thoughts known through his lectures, novels, and poetry, his gardening principles became known and were adopted by the Arts and Crafts Movement.⁴⁸⁵ Peter Davey also comments that Morris was influential because 'round some of his ideas grew the belief that if new buildings were to resemble the Gothic in their process of composition, so new gardens should be made to look like those of the English Middle Ages and early Renaissance'.⁴⁸⁶ Whilst much of Morris's work, particularly his textiles and wallpapers, did take inspiration from nature, his views on the design of gardens did not. Instead, much of his inspiration came from medieval illuminated manuscripts and also from a painting he owned, 'Spring' by Pieter Bruegel the Younger. This painting depicted an earlier garden of c. 1570 that was very formal and

⁴⁸² Including: The Ruskin Linen Industry, founded by John Ruskin, and The Keswick School of Industrial Arts founded by Canon and Mrs Rawsley.

⁴⁸³ Alan Crawford, *Arts and Crafts Walks in Broadway and Chipping Campden* (Chipping Campden: 2002), p. 5.

⁴⁸⁴ Taylor, ed., *The Oxford Companion* (2006), p. 21.

⁴⁸⁵ Jill Hamilton, Penny Hart & John Simmons, *The Gardens of William Morris* (London: 1998), p. 36. Morris established many of his principles, including those for gardens, in a series of five lectures, collectively published in 1882 as *Hopes and Fears for Art*. Tim Richardson does not concur with this view; see *English Gardens in the Twentieth Century — From the Archives of Country Life* (London: 2005), p. 135.

⁴⁸⁶ Peter Davey, *Arts and Crafts Architecture* (London: 1995), p. 125.

orderly with symmetrical beds, and possibly junipers or cypresses in pots (Figure 8.5). He also



Figure 8.5 'Spring' by Pieter Bruegel, the Younger (1632), depicting a formal garden design.

considered there should be a unity between the house and its garden, and this was several years before Blomfield and Muthesius expressed the same opinion.

However, Morris did share the same concerns as Wordsworth regarding the loss of the countryside to rapidly spreading urbanization, commenting that each new house had taken away 'a little piece of the flowery green sward, a few yards of the teeming hedgerow'.⁴⁸⁷ He also had a particular dislike of Palladian mansions and their classically inspired landscape — with their idealized vistas and romantic ruins — as exemplified at Stourhead, Wiltshire, and Stowe, Buckinghamshire. Instead he wanted to promote local identity and believed that a garden, like a building, should reflect the local environment in the materials used for the hard landscaping and in the types of flowers planted. In this respect, he also held very similar views to Wordsworth's.

Morris formed his views on the type of plants and the style of their planting from a young age when he had been interested in the local flora. He preferred native wild flowers, with their simple single blooms, to exotics, with their double blooms, ever increasing size, and garish colours.⁴⁸⁸ He also preferred native trees to exotics. The former he had come to know from

⁴⁸⁷ As quoted by Hamilton, et al. (1998), p. 9.

⁴⁸⁸ Derek, *The Flowers of William Morris*.

roaming Epping Forest as a young boy. He was clearly concerned when exotic trees began to be planted in this area, as is evident in his letter to the *Daily Chronicle* in 1895: 'I very much fear that the intention of the authorities is to clear the forest of its native trees to plant vile weeds like deodars and outlandish conifers instead'.⁴⁸⁹ Evidently, he was not in favour of introduced conifers, but he was not averse to all introduced trees, particularly if they had had a long history in the country such as the cedar of Lebanon. This can be gleaned from the concern he showed when he wrote 'some of the most magnificent cedars' in Hammersmith, where he lived, had been 'wantonly murdered'.⁴⁹⁰

Many of the modern gardens created between the 1880s and 1914 have retrospectively been referred to as Arts and Crafts in style because they contained many elements promoted by the Arts and Crafts Movement, including: 'an interest in vernacular traditions, an eclectic approach to historical precedent, and an experimental attitude to design'.⁴⁹¹ The features they usually included were all, or a significant number, of the following: a design that was integral with the house; hard landscaping in local materials; a formal style but with informal herbaceous planting as influenced by Jekyll; sitting areas; a sunken garden usually with a pond; terracing that anchored the property to its setting; recreational facilities, such as tennis courts and croquet lawns; pergolas, arbours, and alcoves; water features; topiary and rose gardens. All of these, with perhaps the exception of local materials being preferred, feature in gardens of the Old English Formal style. In many respects, therefore, the latter style and those later referred to as Arts and Crafts were virtually the same. In either style, conifers were used formally, with topiary and hedging being commonplace, the latter frequently being used to divide gardens into rooms (separate areas with the main garden). As there was insufficient room in these gardens for large conifers to be grown, these were often kept to the periphery of the garden, providing space allowed.

8.5 An admiration of Italian Renaissance gardens

In addition to there being a nostalgic appreciation of seventeenth-century English gardens, with

⁴⁸⁹ Letter to the *Daily Chronicle* dated 23 April 1895, published 24 April. Quoted in: Derek Baker, *The Flowers of William Morris* (London: 1996), p. 24. At this time, 'Outlandish' meant from foreign places, i.e. from overseas.

⁴⁹⁰ Morris, 'The Beauty of Life', *Hopes and Fears for Art* (1883), p. 103.

⁴⁹¹ Brent Elliot, *The Country House Garden: from the Archives of Country Life 1897–1939* (London: 1995), p. 63.

an emphasis being placed on Englishness, there was also, and had always been according to the garden author Rose Standish Nichols, a great admiration of Italian gardens.⁴⁹² By 1914, the rediscovery of Italian Renaissance gardens had been encouraged, not by grand tours such as occurred in the eighteenth century, but by the publication of a number of books on the subject, one of the most notable being by Sir George Sitwell, who also created an 'English' Italian Renaissance garden at his home, Renishaw Hall.⁴⁹³

As regards conifers, it was (and still is) *Cupressus sempervirens* — Italian cypress that was most closely associated with Italian gardens, with its tall narrow crown being very distinctive. However, unlike in Italy, with its warmer climate, this conifer is not always sufficiently hardy to grow successfully in England. Yew was also significant in Italian gardens, being used for hedging and dividing areas, and, when combined with evergreen shrubs, created a green calmness uninterrupted by brightly coloured flowers. In England, the planting of yew was carried out in a similar manner, that is to divide areas and create areas of calm. There is, however, no evidence to suggest that any gardens were created in an English Italian Renaissance style in Bowness. The impact of this style was therefore negligible for conifer planting in this area.

8.6. A naturalistic approach to planting — William Robinson and the 'wild garden'

William Robinson's gardening career started when eclectic Victorian styles, as advocated by Loudon, were fashionable, ran parallel to most Old English Formal gardens and those retrospectively termed Arts and Crafts, and only finished a decade before the outbreak of the Second World War.⁴⁹⁴ However, whilst his life spanned a considerable period of time, his most influential work was only in the years before the outbreak of the First World War. Throughout his career, Robinson promoted a style of garden that he called the 'Wild Garden'. This was not a garden that had anything 'to do with being a "wilderness"',⁴⁹⁵ but was one that contained a more naturalistic method of planting and where 'perfectly hardy exotic plants [could be

⁴⁹² Rose Standish Nichols, *English Pleasure Gardens*, facsimile edn (Jaffrey, New Hampshire: 2003), p. 201.

⁴⁹³ Sitwell, *On the Making of Gardens* (1909).

⁴⁹⁴ A number of articles and books have been written on William Robinson, with one of the most comprehensive being: Betty Massingham, 'William Robinson: A Portrait', *Garden History*, Vol. 6, No. 1 (Spring, 1978), p. 63.

⁴⁹⁵ As quoted in Rick Darke, *William Robinson, The Wild Garden*, expanded edn (London: 2002), p. 102. Robinson's views relating to garden design were clearly stated in 'Art in Relation to Flower-gardening and Garden Design' *The English Flower Garden and Home Ground*, Part I, ch. 1, pp. 3–15 (London: 1900). Wilderness here does not have the same meaning as a wilderness in seventeenth-century gardens, which were orderly places for walking and contemplation.

planted in] places where they will take care of themselves'.⁴⁹⁶ Like Loudon, Robinson was able to disseminate his views widely in the magazines he founded and published, including *The Garden* and *Gardening Illustrated*, both of which were weekly publications, and *Flora and Sylva*, which was published monthly.⁴⁹⁷ From these publications, his views and those of other contributors regarding conifers can be gleaned. *Flora and Sylva* contained a considerable number of articles on utilitarian and aesthetic reasons for planting conifers, an example of the latter being under the heading 'Evergreen Woods for Beauty and Profit', where Robinson stated:

There are good reasons for planting evergreen woods, and the first is beauty. This we do not get in the kind of pleasure-ground planting in which the object is to grow each tree as a specimen dressed down to the ground as in a green 'crinoline'. It is only by grouping and massing hardy evergreen trees that we can see their highest beauty, which, in most kinds, lies in the mast-like stem. Nothing in the form of trees may so much influence the look of the country as these evergreen trees.⁴⁹⁸

Clearly, Robinson did not approve of conifers being planted as individual species, preferring instead trees being planted in groups. The other reasons Robinson gave for their use were for: shelter, planting on poor land, quickness of their growth, and their colour. In relation to the latter, he was particularly complimentary, stating: 'Nobler Pines, with their fine variety of perennial verdure from the hemlock, spruce, and yew that toss their branches so finely in storms, to the silvery Californian trees [...]'.⁴⁹⁹ Using trees for topiary was not something Robinson admired, and whilst he railed against its use, this had little effect on its use in Old English Formal gardens.

Robinson planted many of the above species in his own garden and grounds at Gravetye, Sussex, a number of which are clearly shown in a photograph and a painting by Beatrice Parsons (1870–1955) (Figures 8.6 & 8.7 over). As is evident from both, Robinson had a preference for the lower limbs of trees to be removed, thereby lightening the understorey and

⁴⁹⁶ Darke, *ibid.* (2002), p. 102.

⁴⁹⁷ *The Garden: An Illustrated Weekly Journal of Horticulture in all its Branches* was in print from 1871 to 1927 with Country Life taking over its publication in the twentieth century. *Gardening Illustrated for Town and Country — A Weekly Journal for Amateurs and Gardeners*, Unlike the previous journals, *Flora and Sylva* was aimed at upper-middle-class garden owners and consequently had a much higher printing quality with sumptuous colour plates.

⁴⁹⁸ William Robinson, *Flora and Sylva*, vol. I, Section entitled 'Home Woods' (London: 1903), p. 37.

⁴⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 40.



Figure 8.6 Gravetye, Sussex. *Pinus nigra* ssp. *nigra* — Austrian pine, with lower limbs removed.



Figure 8.7 The rear garden at Gravetye by Beatrice Parsons. Conifers, with lower limbs removed, are planted as a backdrop to the garden, on the hillside beyond.

also allowing views through to the wider countryside. Whilst a reasonable amount of information relating to conifers is contained in *Flora and Sylva*, what is surprising is that in comparison, *The Garden* (for the year 1892) and *Gardening Illustrated* (for the year 1910)

contain very few articles regarding conifers, with the latter having only three for the whole of that year. In contrast, there were numerous articles on flowering plants (trees, shrubs, and herbaceous⁵⁰⁰), indicating Robinson's preference for flowering plants (he considered himself a 'flower gardener') over conifers. However, his general advice that it was only by knowing plants — their horticultural requirements and morphological features — that they would then be planted in the correct place and a successful garden achieved applied equally to conifers.⁵⁰¹ Whilst his own garden had a formal structure, he considered it informal because of the style of the plantings.

8.7. Gertrude Jekyll and an innovative style of planting

Gertrude Jekyll was a prolific garden author, designer, and exceptional plantswoman, all of which made her one of the most influential gardeners of the day.⁵⁰² She was a contemporary of Robinson and is credited for developing his ideas on informal planting, as Roy Strong has argued: 'to Robinson's advocacy of the natural style she added other major elements, a painterly theory of colour stemming from her training as a painter and her admiration for the works of Turner'.⁵⁰³ Contemporary authors disagree as regards who influenced Jekyll, but it would seem plausible that as she knew and worked closely with Robinson, he did have some influence on her planting methods.⁵⁰⁴ In addition, and like Robinson, she acknowledged the influence of cottage gardens with their riotous plantings, with their unbridled colour and form, which she saw when travelling around the local area in her pony and trap.

Although Jekyll designed gardens on her own, it was her collaborations with the architect Sir Edwin Lutyens (1869–1944), in his early years in the profession, for which she is probably best remembered. In the gardens of the houses Lutyens designed, she was responsible for the planting. As the style of many of the houses Lutyens designed has been described as Arts

⁵⁰⁰ With the greatest number of articles being on roses, chrysanthemums, and dahlias, reflecting their fashionable and popular status at the time.

⁵⁰¹ Cited in *The Glory of the Garden, A Horticultural Celebration — From the Pages of Country Life* (London: 2012), p.182.

⁵⁰² Jekyll designed over 400 gardens, and in recognition of her influence on gardens, a number of books have been written on these and her life, including: Betty Massingham, *Gertrude Jekyll: An Illustrated Life 1843–1932* (Newton Abbot: 2006); Richard Bisgrove, *The Gardens of Gertrude Jekyll* (London: 1992); and Judith B. Tankard and Martin A Wood, *Gertrude Jekyll at Munstead Wood* (Godalming: 1996).

⁵⁰³ Roy Strong, *Gardens Through the Ages 1420–1940* (London: 2000), p. 120.

⁵⁰⁴ Sally Festing considers Ruskin was her greatest influence, *Gertrude Jekyll* (London: 1991), p. 32, but Richard Bisgrove argues it was William Morris, *The Gardens of Gertrude Jekyll* (London: 1992), p. 11; and Tim Richardson considers it was Robinson, *English Gardens* (2005), pp. 29–30.

and Crafts, by association Jekyll's garden designs have also been described as in this style, but this was not a description she used. Through her training as an artist and her knowledge of plants, she was able to combine structure and colour in ways that had not been done before, and today she is most closely associated with perennial plantings, particularly in herbaceous borders.⁵⁰⁵ In addition to the many gardens she designed, Jekyll was a prolific garden author, writing over a thousand articles and sixty books, but not one of which was devoted to conifers.⁵⁰⁶ Even in *Wood and Garden* (1900), neither in her prose nor in the photographs taken by her were any conifers mentioned in any significant way.⁵⁰⁷ It is clear that she was not particularly interested in conifers and that her knowledge of these was therefore limited to just a few common species, including juniper, yew, and Scots pine. However, despite the lack of written material, occasionally conifers are included in her planting schemes, as is evident in the design for her own garden around her temporary home 'the Hut', at Munstead Wood, Sussex. In her plan, the following were present (as written by her): red cedar, thuja, yew, juniper, and a hedge of 'Lawsons cypress'. In the Hidden Garden of the same property was a '*Cupressus macrocarpa*'.⁵⁰⁸ These conifers are very few in comparison with those available at this time.

8.8. Woodland gardens

At the same time as new designs, such as the Old English Formal, were being introduced for gardens, 'Woodland Gardens' also became fashionable, particularly from the 1880s, when their popularity gathered momentum.⁵⁰⁹ The concept of a woodland garden developed from Robinson's 'Wild Garden' and also, as Brent Elliott has argued, 'from the culmination of exotic tree collections and colour massing'.⁵¹⁰ Robinson had very strong views regarding the trees that were suitable for these areas and why it had been necessary for him to write a book on the subject; it was as he stated:

⁵⁰⁵ See Bisgrove (1992) and *Gertrude Jekyll's Colour Schemes for the Flower Garden* (London: 1988) based on Jekyll's *Colour Schemes for the Flower Garden* (London: 1914).

⁵⁰⁶ Many of which appeared in Robinson's publications but also in *Country Life* magazine after it started to be printed in 1897. She became great friends with the owner Edward Hudson, and her gardens in collaboration with the architect Sir Edwin Lutyens came to epitomize the Edwardian garden belonging to the upper and upper middle classes.

⁵⁰⁷ In Jekyll's *Wall, Water and Woodland Gardens* (London: 1933), published just after her death, photographs were included in which conifers are depicted.

⁵⁰⁸ See Martin Wood, 'Miss Jekyll's Munstead Wood' *Gertrude Jekyll, Essays on the Life of a Working Amateur*, ed. by Michael Tooley and Primrose Arnander (Co. Durham: 1995) Plan of the garden around the Hut, c. 1908, p. 93; Figure 7.16: 'Plan of the Hidden Garden' c. 1908. p. 95. Figure 7.18.

⁵⁰⁹ See Brent Elliot, 'Woodland Gardens', *The Country House Garden* (London: 1995), ch. 6, pp. 76–87.

⁵¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

to get people [...] to think more of their woods from aesthetic and other points of view. Its aim is to teach the best of all lessons for garden-lovers — too often absorbed in the exotic, the curious, and the tender — that our own country's trees are the most beautiful we shall ever have [...]⁵¹¹

He also argued that trees were much more suited to woodland gardens than pleasure grounds because 'the whole system of dotting trees on grass is a wrong one; the true way to enjoy their beauty and favour their growth is in woodland planting'.⁵¹² He also considered that no other area offered 'such opportunity for beauty as these woodlands, where we can mass and enjoy many of the most beautiful of native and other shrubs for which there is not always room in the garden'.⁵¹³

Robinson particularly disliked trees being grown in pinetums or botanic gardens, as he was of the opinion that: 'much wealth has been wasted in our island in planting Pines in pinetums and pleasure grounds where they never show their true character nor even grow well, in spite of often costly and needless preparation of soil'.⁵¹⁴ He did describe the trees that he considered were suitable for woodland gardens, placing emphasis on native species, including conifers:

Notwithstanding the many conifers brought from other countries within the past few generations, as regards beauty it is very doubtful if more than one or two equal our native fir. In any case few things in our country are more picturesque than old groups and groves of the Scotch fir; few indeed of the conifers we treasure from other countries will ever give us anything so good as its ruddy stems and frost-defying crests.⁵¹⁵

He was not in favour of exotic conifers, particularly as there were few he considered sufficiently aesthetically pleasing for planting in England, as he commented:

there are trees that are stately in their own country but a doubtful gain to ours, like the Wellingtonia and other Californian trees, and the Chile pine. Sometimes the foregrounds of even fine old

⁵¹¹ William Robinson, *The Garden Beautiful. Home Woods, Home Landscapes* (London: 1906), Preface p. v.

⁵¹² Although Robinson does not make the distinction clear, by pleasure ground he was probably meaning the area around the garden created for aesthetic reasons, similar to a parkland, whereas home landscapes (which he interchanges with 'home ground') were the area beyond that used for more utilitarian purposes.

⁵¹³ Robinson (1906), p. 303.

⁵¹⁴ Ibid., Preface, pp. vi–vii.

⁵¹⁵ Ibid., p. 241.

houses are marred by such trees, and unfortunately people use them in the idea that they are doing something old-fashioned and 'Elizabethan', whereas they are marring the beauty of the landscape and of our native trees, beyond the grounds of the garden. We ought not to spoil the beauty of our home landscape by using such things [...]⁵¹⁶

In contrast, Jekyll had little to say on the planting of conifers in woodland gardens. In the scant information she supplied in *Wood and Garden* (1900), the emphasis, like Robinson, was on native trees, with juniper and 'Scotch fir' being mentioned but no exotic conifers. It was not until the reprint in 1933 that conifers featured in photographs, but again very little information about them was contained in the text and nothing about being planted in woodland gardens.⁵¹⁷ This is very much at odds with photographs of the time, particularly those in Brent Elliot's *Country House Garden*, where conifers feature prominently in many woodland gardens, the majority of which appear to have been planted well before Robinson's 1906 book (Figure 8.8). Therefore, the creation of woodland gardens must also have been due to others, including landowners and head gardeners.



Figure 8.8 The 'Woodland Garden', at Leonardslee, Sussex, begun in 1887, around twenty years before Robinson's book. The garden included numerous conifers together with rhododendrons, ferns, and herbaceous woodland plants, all planted in a naturalistic manner.

⁵¹⁶ Robinson, 'The Nobler Evergreen Trees', *The Garden Beautiful* (1906), p. 249.

⁵¹⁷ Gertrude Jekyll, *Wood and Garden. Notes and Thoughts, Practical and Critical, of a Working Amateur* (London: 1900).

8.9. Thomas Mawson (1861–1933)

Thomas Mawson has been described as 'one of the most sought-after garden and landscape designers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries', and much of his early work as being in the Arts and Crafts style.⁵¹⁸ His commissions took him not only all over the country but also abroad, with a significant commission being to design the gardens for the Peace Palace in The Hague, Netherlands. Mawson was born in Scorton in Lancashire and moved to Windermere after a brief career in London. With his brothers, Robert and Isaac, he established a plant nursery, Mawson Bros. (later renamed Lakeland Nurseries Ltd) and, after this proved successful, commenced a career in garden design. As he undertook a number of significant commissions in the Lake District, particularly in Bowness, his work, views, and influences are described and analysed in Section 10 and Case Study III.

8.10. Conclusion

After the 1880s, and mirroring the changes in architecture that were occurring, there was a noticeable change in garden design. Whilst a number of notable figures such as Ruskin and Morris had sought inspiration from nature, their views appeared to be of little influence on the new styles for gardens being promoted, and this was despite both being significant figures in the development of the Arts and Crafts Movement. Nature did not appear to be a driving force in the new ideas that came to fruition. Instead, it was the views of architects, such as Blomfield and Sedding, that appeared to have had the most influence, as it was their 'Old English Formal' designs that replaced the earlier fashionable styles such as the Italianate.

For their new designs, these architects sought inspiration from seventeenth-century English gardens, and although very much smaller, the 'modern' gardens did include many of the same features but just on a smaller scale. These included having a formal design with straight lines, different areas (delineated by formal hedging of yew), topiary, water features, and recreational areas, and those created by architects influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement, such as Voysey and Baillie Scott, had their hard landscaping created out of local materials.

⁵¹⁸ *Nomination Document*, p. 132.

The formal and very artificial bedding-out plantings contained in earlier garden designs, in particular in Italianate designs, were also replaced by informal plantings, such as those advocated by Robinson and Jekyll. It was Jekyll's innovative herbaceous plantings that now came to prominence, helped by many more herbaceous plants being available than ever before. This enabled Jekyll to create lush herbaceous borders often in gardens where the hard landscaping had been designed by Lutyens. Together, they created many fashionable gardens, particularly in the home counties. However, conifers did not feature in either Jekyll's writings or her designs, and her use of conifers was therefore negligible. As a consequence of this, Jekyll, more than any other, directly contributed to the decline in the use of conifers.

Where conifers continued to be planted was now confined to the periphery of gardens, often for shelter belts, and in the formal area of the garden where once again they were kept clipped in a manner not dissimilar to those advocated in earlier styles. Despite being intensely disliked by Robinson, topiary remained a strong feature in these new gardens. The use of yew for this purpose remained constant, as it also did for architectural 'hortulan'-type hedging. In relation to the various uses for conifers as described in *Veitch's Manual* (1881), such as avenues, pineta, and specimen trees, these were more applicable to gardens of the past and were no longer appropriate for the 'modern' garden. Where the unrestricted use of conifers was possible was in 'Woodland Gardens', as advocated by Robinson, but this would only have been possible on large estates. It was, however, in these 'Woodland Gardens' where the largest number and greatest variety of species occurred at this time and which are very evident from photographs. However, from the large size of the conifers depicted, many of these must have been planted several decades earlier, at a time when they were highly fashionable.

Whilst conifers are evident in the plans of gardens designed by architects, there is little information regarding which conifer species were included in their gardens. It is unlikely that many consulted books of the time, such as *Veitch's Manual*, as it was acknowledged, and somewhat derisively stated by Blomfield, that this was a gardener's job. As architects, such as Blomfield, Baillie Scott, and Voysey, had little or no plant knowledge, and although there is no evidence to substantiate this, it is probable that decisions regarding which conifers to plant were left to nurserymen and gardeners. According to Robinson, the lack of plant knowledge by

architects made them incapable of designing a successful garden. But despite this, many new gardens were created in the 'Old English Formal' style with little heed once again being paid to Robinson's views. Where there is much clearer evidence regarding which conifers were planted at this time, and in what manner, is in the work of Thomas Mawson (discussed in Section 10).

Although conifers continued to be planted in new gardens, their role was no longer as important as it had been in the gardens of the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s — the ubiquitous monkey puzzle was no longer centre stage. The decline in their use, which was commented on in the RHS's Conifer Conference in 1890, was therefore the consequence of a change in garden design but also, and most notably, of their fashionable status being usurped by herbaceous plants in herbaceous borders.

9. The development of gardens and ornamental use of conifers in Bowness in the Victorian era — prior to the 1880s

9.1. Introduction

This section examines whether the same influences, styles of gardens, and manner of planting conifers, prevalent during the Victorian era prior to the 1880s, were evident in gardens in Bowness.

9.2. The development of Bowness and Windermere

In the early decades of the nineteenth century, there were few notable gardens, fashionable or otherwise, in the Lake District. However, at the same time as many conifers were being introduced into the country, this area underwent significant development after the 1860s, with many hotels, boarding houses, and private homes being built and gardens created. This was particularly evident in Bowness and when the 'full emergence of Windermere as a residential resort' occurred.⁵¹⁹

9.2.1. Tourism and 'offcomers'

The development of Bowness occurred for a variety of reasons. These included the unspoilt beauty of the landscape, its cultural association with Wordsworth, and guidebooks, including Wordsworth's, which through extolling the charm of the area encouraged people to visit. Although there had been some industry in the Lake District since Roman times, it was on a relatively small scale, particularly when compared with that of the burgeoning industrial cities in the north of England such as Manchester, Liverpool, Sheffield, and Leeds. The biggest impact of the Industrial Revolution on the Lake District was the introduction of trains and the construction of the branch line to Windermere, which was completed in 1847. The main purpose for this line was for the transportation not of industrial goods but for people — most particularly tourists — to enable them to visit the area, with relative ease from the industrial conurbations of the north of England, which they did in ever-increasing numbers.⁵²⁰

The arrival of the railway also encouraged many wealthy middle-class industrialists, seeking a more pleasant environment, away from the pollution they had helped to create, to

⁵¹⁹ Oliver Westall, ed. *Windermere in the Nineteenth Century* (Lancaster: 1991), p. 38.

⁵²⁰ Whilst earlier lines had been constructed into the Lake District, their primary purpose had been to transport slate and other quarried or mined products.

build holiday, retirement, or permanent homes.⁵²¹ As Oliver Westall has commented, this desire was enabled by the

agrarian structure that characterised Westmorland [being] ideally suited to the purchase of small estates on which villas or mansions could be built, [and it was also enabled by] the great enterprise of the local Pattinson family who gradually bought up the rather larger estates directly along the eastern shore of Windermere and developed them with houses that were designed especially to suit the offcomer seeking a retirement home or holiday villa.⁵²²

Whilst the beauty of the Lake District was undoubtedly an attractive proposition for these offcomers, another aspect that encouraged them in their 'retreat to Arcadia' was the development of a social scene suited to both their status and their wealth.⁵²³ Many nouveau riche industrialists were acutely aware that their wealth, founded on industry and not land, made them socially inferior in the eyes of the landed aristocracy. As a consequence, they were not comfortable in entering this society compared with socializing with others whose wealth was founded on industry. Bowness therefore became a 'select residential resort' for like-minded affluent industrialists, and in contrast to the day trippers or holiday tourists, they formed their own 'offcomer society'.⁵²⁴ The highlight of their social calendar was undoubtedly the annual regatta, organized by the Royal Windermere Yacht Club, which had been founded in Bowness in 1860. The homes and gardens they created therefore placed particular importance on being suitable for socializing, entertaining, and recreation, with the latter being evident in the number of gardens that included tennis lawns, croquet lawns, and bowling greens. As a consequence, the design of the gardens and the plants they contained, including conifers, may not have been of paramount concern to the offcomers. They would have left such matters to others, including Thomas Mawson, the gardeners they employed, or the nurserymen who supplied the plants.

The impact of these offcomers on Bowness was significant owing to the considerable

⁵²¹ Oliver Westall, 'The Retreat to Arcadia: Windermere as a Select Residential Resort in the Late-nineteenth Century', *Windermere in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. by Oliver Westall (Lancaster: 1991), pp. 34–48. The influx of tourists was also considerable, with an estimation of between 80,000 and 100,000 passing through Windermere Station each year in the late 1880s.

⁵²² *Ibid.*, pp. 37–38.

⁵²³ *Ibid.*, p. 34.

⁵²⁴ *Ibid.*

development they helped to create. But this development was not always welcomed, as Canon Hardwicke Rawnsley (1850–1920) lamented: ‘the whole park before so beautiful in its privacy, has fallen into the hands of the builder and you might suppose as you sail along towards Bowness that you were passing by the suburban outskirts of some great city just over the hill’.⁵²⁵ Even by 1832, Thomas Rose had noted that Bowness had changed from being a village primarily dependent on fishing to one whose ‘chief support [...] is derived from the vast conflux of visitors, by whom, during the season, the numerous pleasure boats are constantly kept in hire’.⁵²⁶ The local author E. Lynn Linton also observed: ‘becoming sites [were] chosen for mansions fitted for people of deep purses and liberal education’.⁵²⁷ She also acknowledged that in the construction of these homes, an old tree would be spared from being felled if ‘it accorded well with the newer building’.⁵²⁸ Linton, however, had observed that Bowness was simpler and more old-fashioned than the ‘new village of Windermere’ where ‘everything is modern, wealthy and well adapted’, with new homes being constructed in fashionable styles including ‘half-Swiss or half-Elizabethan’.⁵²⁹

9.2.2. Descriptive and illustrative influences on the development of the Lake District

The increase in the number of tourists, and those who desired to settle in the area, was encouraged by the considerable number of guidebooks that continued to be published in which the beauty of the Lake District’s landscape was extolled.⁵³⁰ As the Georgian period ended, and the Victorian era became established, it is evident that there was a change in tone both in the language used to describe a lakeland scene and in how such scenes were interpreted by painters, which included descriptions and depictions of trees. This becomes apparent when comparing two illustrations of the same scene, an example being Lower Falls, Rydal, with one by Joseph Farington and the other by George Pickering. In comparison with

⁵²⁵ As quoted by Westall (1991), p. 38, quoting from Sir William Forwood: *W.B. Forwood, Some Recollections of a Busy Life 1840–1910* (1910).

⁵²⁶ Thomas Rose, *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham and Northumberland, Illustrated from Original Drawings by Allom, &c. with Historical & Topographical Descriptions*, by Thomas Rose (London: 1832), pp. 25–26.

⁵²⁷ E. Lynn Linton, *The Lake Country* (London: 1864), p. 5. Linton and her husband, W. J. Linton, lived at Brantwood on Coniston Water until they sold the property to John Ruskin in 1871, which then remained his home until his death in 1900.

⁵²⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

⁵³⁰ A list of early guidebooks is kept at the Robinson Library, University of Newcastle and at the Armit Museum (Armitt Collection) Ambleside.

Farington's painting, Pickering's, produced almost a century later, is more dramatic, with the height of the fall being exaggerated by his use of a portrait rather than landscape format. The scene also includes people and crane-like birds, which gives a sense of scale, again emphasizing the height of the falls, with the trees on the left being considerably taller. The difference in style has been explained by John Murray, who argues that Farington's watercolours convey 'information rather than emotion' and that he 'may exaggerate the size of mountains but rarely distorts or romanticises them' (Figure 9.1).⁵³¹ The converse is true of Pickering's (Figure 9.2).



Figure 9.1 'Lower Falls, Rydal', engraving of a watercolour by Joseph Farington.



Figure 9.2 'The Lower Fall at Rydal, Westmorland' by G. Pickering (1832).

⁵³¹ Murray, *A Tour of the English* (2012), p. 27.

In addition to the artistic interpretation of scenes altering, there was also a noticeable change in the language used to describe such scenes. In contrast to Gray's description of Rydal falls, that used by Thomas Rose is far more fulsome in its language:

The Falls of Rydal Water, in the ground of Rydal Hall, are two highly picturesque Cascades. Though inconsiderable, by comparison with others, in extent and magnitude, they are invested with an air of romantic grandeur, and apparently identified with tales of mystery, that impart to them all the magic influence of a theatrical scene.⁵³²

The use of the words, 'highly picturesque', 'romantic grandeur', 'mystery', 'magic', and 'theatrical' conveys to the reader an enhanced, exaggerated, or, at the very least, embellished scene, and Rose uses the word 'picturesque' in terms of the drama before him. The scene at Lower Falls today can be described as possessing some of the characteristics of all the earlier illustrative and written interpretations. However, similar to photographs today, illustrations cannot fully portray the drama of a scene by not conveying the sound of the waterfall in full flood (Figure 9.3).



Figure 9.3 Lower Rydal Falls, Rydal (2017).
The drama of the sound of the waterfall cannot be conveyed in illustrations or photographs.

⁵³² Rose (1832), p. 32.

9.3. Conifer plantings

By the 1850s, a considerable number of exotic species and cultivars had already been introduced and planted in the country and were therefore well established by the time the development of Bowness was occurring. It was this development that gave a far greater scope for planting conifers because of the number of new gardens being created in which they could be accommodated. It is also noticeable that conifers were being more frequently depicted in illustrations in nineteenth-century guidebooks, including those for the Lake District. Their inclusion was probably thought to enhance a scene, making it more dramatic and interesting. Whether this is correct can be judged today when comparing an illustration of Bridge House, Ambleside (to the left, Bridge House, Figure 9.4) with a photograph of the same scene but without the conifer (Figure 9.5).



Figure 9.4 (above left) Probably a Norway spruce beside Bridge House, Ambleside. Engraving by T. Jeavons (1832).

Figure 9.5 (above right) Photograph taken in 1909, showing the tree no longer present, creating a less interesting scene.

Although Linton had commented that even by 1864 Bowness was still relatively undeveloped, an engraving of 1832 does give an indication that there were several substantial

properties in the village, even by that date (Figure 9.6). One of the first new properties to be built, and for which there is documentary and illustrative evidence for the garden, was Belsfield.⁵³³ This house occupied a prominent and elevated position in Bowness, overlooking Lake Windermere. As indicated on the Ordnance Survey map of 1858 (Figure 9.7), the garden



Figure 9.6 'Bowness from Belle Isle, Windermere', Thomas Allom, engraved by J. Redway (before 1832): still a small village but with a few substantial houses present (conifers present on the island on the left)

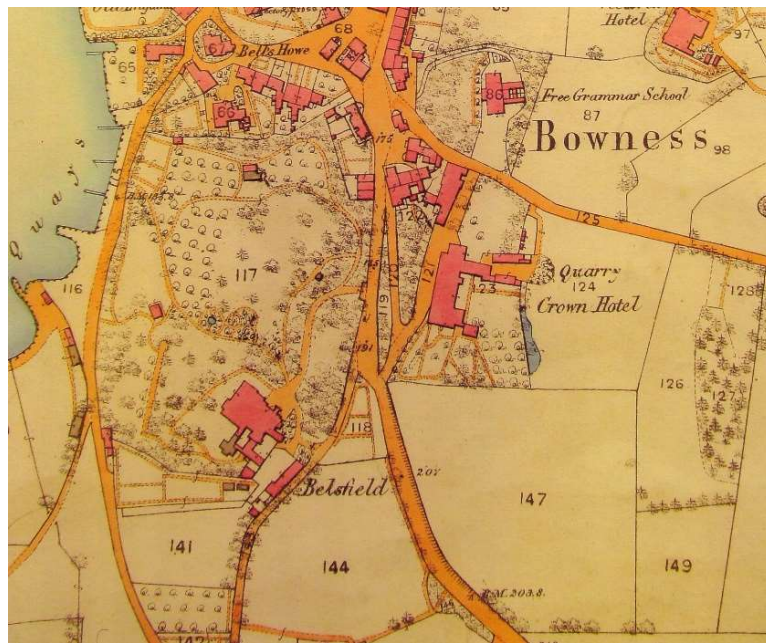


Figure 9.7 Belsfield, Bowness-on-Windermere (detail), Ordnance Survey Map (1858).

⁵³³ Built between 1845 and 1848 for Countess de Sternberg. Norman A. Buckley *Around Windermere* (Dinton: 2003), p. 35.

was large (approximately eight acres) and included conifers, particularly in the area where paths wound their way down to the promenade, and around a pond where trees appear to be grouped together. In addition, although nearly two decades later, there is pictorial evidence showing part of an Italianate parterre, with gardenesque overtones (Figure 9.8), in which a



**Figure 9.8 Belsfield, Bowness-on-Windermere (1875).
Conifers are very evident in this garden, with pride of place being given to the ubiquitous *Araucaria araucana* — monkey puzzle (centre of illustration).**

number of conifers occupied significant positions, including a prominently placed *Araucaria araucana* — monkey puzzle, a favourite tree of Victorian gardeners whether they were owners of large or small gardens.⁵³⁴ By this time, the property was owned by the iron and steel magnate of Barrow in Furness, H. W. Schneider (1817–87). This eminent industrialist had acquired the house in 1869, but it is not known if the garden depicted was created during his or the previous owner's occupation.⁵³⁵ However, although both house and garden had been the epitome of high Victorian fashion for the 1850s, by the time Schneider died such styles were being criticized and were becoming unfashionable.⁵³⁶

As a consequence of the arrival of the railway in 1847, the area around the new station

⁵³⁴ For a description of this garden see A.G. Banks, *H. W. Schneider of Barrow and Bowness* (Kendal: 1984) 'Appendix B, Description of Belsfield gardens', *Westmorland Gazette* 19 December 1874, 'Belsfield, Windermere, The Seat of H. W. Schneider, Esq', pp. 115–118.

⁵³⁵ Banks (1984) for information on the life of H. W. Schneider.

⁵³⁶ Shortly after his death Belsfield was extended and turned into a hotel, with a third floor being added.

Gothic Revival architecture, but also, like the architecture, they contributed to the distinctive character of the area — as they continue to do to the present time. The garden and natural landscape were significantly altered by their presence, changing the area's 'sense of place'.

Little remains today of the original gardens in which they grew, primarily because many larger properties have been divided into flats or apartments, and their substantial grounds divided up and built upon. An example of this is The Priory, Rayrigg Road, which had a large garden but in which there are now sixteen properties (Figure 9.10). Today, this garden only has



Figure 9.10 *Thuja plicata* — Western red-cedar, adjacent to The Priory (2017). No deciduous broad-leaved tree could complement the Gothic Revival style of The Priory's tower as well as this conifer, with its shape and colour being perfectly in harmony with this structure. A second western red cedar to the right of this tree was felled in 2017, and the exposed growth rings of its stump indicated it was 140 years old, confirming both trees were planted shortly after the property was built.

remnants of its original tree plantings including a substantial Douglas fir, decayed stumps of two others, and two western red cedars, a third having been felled in 2017. In what remains of the garden of Wynlass Beck grows a very imposing monkey puzzle, although the character of both

the house and this tree are compromised by a recently constructed wooden fence (Figure 9.11).



Figure 9.11 *Araucaria araucana* — Monkey Puzzle (2016).
An imposing specimen behind modern wooden fencing,
in what remains of the divided-up garden of Wynlass Beck, Cook's Corner.

The Wood, now Windermere School, still has significant numbers of Wellingtonias and western red cedars, and in Hodgehow Wood, also owned by the school, in addition to Lawson cypresses, western red cedars and Douglas firs, there is a very imposing row of Wellingtonias bordering Wynlass Beck (Figure 9.12). In Windermere and Bowness, there are many other



Figure 9.12 A row of *Sequoiadendron giganteum* — Wellingtonia, in Hodgehow Wood (2016).

other properties similar to those around Cook's Corner, an example being the new (as opposed to the old) Fallbarrow Hall in Bowness (the subject of Case Study II).

As no planting plans are evident for the properties at Cook's Corner or Fallbarrow, an indication of the available conifers, and the numbers in which they were planted, can be obtained from documentary evidence relating to other properties. A good example is Cringlemire, Holbeck, which was built between 1860 and 1863, and later significantly altered.⁵⁴² This house was constructed for the Nicholson family of Thelwall Hall, Cheshire, who required a holiday home in the Lake District.⁵⁴³ The landscaping of the garden (which involved dynamiting rock) was carried out by John Grier, of Waterhead Nurseries, who also supplied the plants for the garden. These included substantial quantities of various conifer species for the period 1860–61. In March alone in 1861, the following were supplied (nomenclature of the time): '200 Spruce fir, 200 Larch fir, 100 Pinus laricio and 100 Pinus Austriaca' (Figure 9.13). Such large quantities were

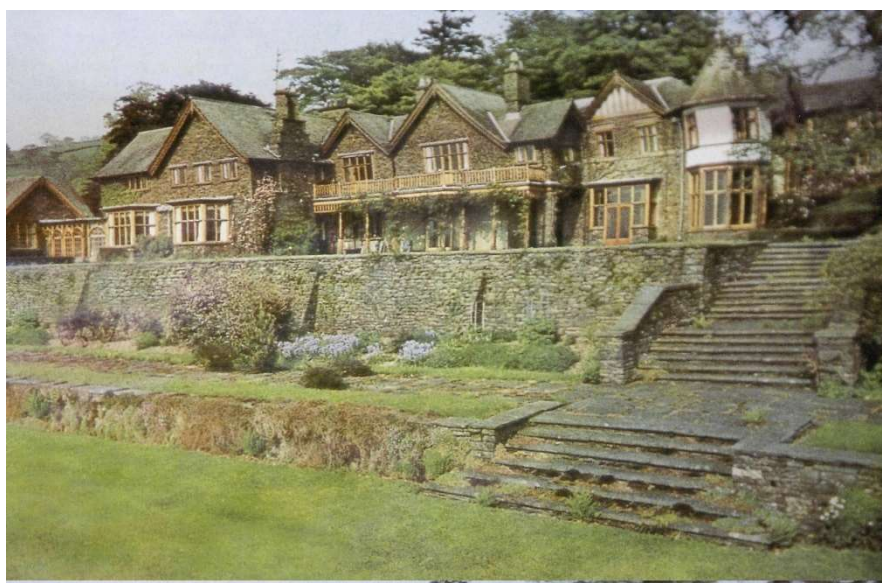


Figure 9.13 Cringlemire, Holbeck — photograph taken in the 1930s. By the date of this photograph, not only had the property been significantly altered and enlarged, but also the numerous conifers, that were planted in the garden during the 1860s (a few seen behind the property), were now of a substantial size.

frequently used for boundary planting, which was usually necessary to create shelter for the rest of the garden. However, unlike cedar of Lebanon, rarely were any of these species used for

⁵⁴² Cheshire Archive and Local Studies, Chester: DDW 3765/76/4 & 5, DDW 3736/77/4 Documentation on Cringlemire was discovered when research was being undertaken by Mike and Maggie Taylor relating to Thelwall Hall, Cheshire.

⁵⁴³ The photograph depicts the house after it was substantially altered and enlarged at the turn of the century.

specimen planting. The importance of the trees in this garden was noted when a subsequent owner of the property, Henry Martin, a Yorkshire manufacturer, was described as being: 'more interested in collecting trees than good design' and in having an arboricultural museum 'rather than a pleasure garden'.⁵⁴⁴

9.4. Conclusion

The development of Bowness, unlike the expansion of many towns and villages into industrial conurbations during the Victorian era, was only indirectly the consequence of the Industrial Revolution. It also did not occur in any meaningful way until after the 1860s, several decades after the rest of the country.⁵⁴⁵ However, the indirect impact of the Industrial Revolution was considerable, as it resulted in the influx of a considerable number of offcomers — the wealthy industrialists — whose wealth enabled holiday, retirement, or permanent homes, with substantial gardens, to be created, particularly after the 1880s and on a scale not seen before (examined in Section 10). The creation of these new gardens gave considerably more scope for planting conifers for ornamental purposes, and without them this would not have occurred to the extent that it did. However, the owners of these new homes appear to have had no qualms about contributing to the development of the area, and that development altering and perhaps destroying the very beauty for which they had come to the area. Their sole concern was to have a comfortable home, in a pollution-free and pleasant environment, that enabled them to undertake their very necessary social and recreational activities.

With regard to the design of gardens at this time, because none still exist in their original state today, it cannot be said conclusively just how much the early fashionable styles in other parts of the country were of influence in Bowness. Only occasionally is there evidence to indicate that they did filter through, such as at Belsfield with its Italianate garden and fashionable conifers. Whilst information is again limited, there is some evidence to show that conifers were being planted in significant numbers, the example being Cringlemire. (A more detailed examination of the conifer species that were planted and the manner of their planting for this period is contained in Case Study I, Langdale Chase, and Case Study II, Fallbarrow Hall.)

⁵⁴⁴ Thomas Mawson, *The Life and Work of an English Landscape Architect* (Manchester: 1927) as quoted in Janet Waymark, *Thomas Mawson, Life, Gardens and Landscapes* (London: 2009), p. 42.

⁵⁴⁵ See Westall (1991), for the reasons behind this, pp. 38–39.

Just as elsewhere in the country at this time, it does not appear that Wordsworth's opinions and concerns, expressed in the strongest terms about favouring native species and the inappropriateness of certain conifer species, had any significant influence on Victorian gardeners in Bowness. Nor were his views heeded on being guided by nature when creating a garden, as the reverse was apparent, with artifice and inappropriate plantings being prevalent in gardens such as Belfield's. Indeed, the voices of concern, such as Wordsworth's, over the development of the area appear to have gone unheeded by the offcomers. It would take others to do this, particularly John Ruskin, Canon Rawnsley, and Beatrix Potter, but it was Wordsworth's publications that 'established an approach to conservation which still has influence today'.⁵⁴⁶ This was primarily because Ruskin continued Wordsworth's legacy with the founding of the 'Wordsworth Society' in 1880, the purpose of which, according to Ruskin, was 'to preserve as far as possible in England the conditions of rural life which made Wordsworth himself possible and which if destroyed would leave his verse vainer than the Hymns of Orpheus'.⁵⁴⁷ Ruskin, and others, also led 'energetic campaigns against developments' that would harm the special qualities of the area. However, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, developments were going ahead virtually unchecked, causing considerable concern. This led to Canon Rawnsley establishing the first national landscape protection society, the 'Lake District Defence Society', in 1883.⁵⁴⁸ When trying to establish this society, Rawnsley appealed to the members of the Wordsworth Society to join. In addition to this society, Rawnsley, together with Octavia Hill and Robert Hunter, founded 'The National Trust for Places of Historic Interest or Natural Beauty', in 1895.⁵⁴⁹ The influence of this body was greatly increased when Beatrix Potter, through her concerns over development of the east shore of Lake Windermere, purchased significant areas of farmland on the west side and then subsequently bequeathed them to the National Trust.

⁵⁴⁶ *Nomination Document*, p. 209.

⁵⁴⁷ As quoted in *Proposal Document*, p. 214.

⁵⁴⁸ Formed primarily over concerns about the expansion or creation of the railways.

⁵⁴⁹ Subsequently, the Council (now Campaign) for the Protection of Rural England in 1926, and the Friends of the Lake District were also established.

10. The garden designs and ornamental conifer plantings in Bowness — from the 1880s to 1914 — including those of Thomas Mawson

10.1. Introduction

This section discusses how, if at all, the changes that occurred in garden design from around the 1880s also occurred in gardens in Bowness, and whether the ornamental conifer planting in those gardens was in accordance with the advice of the time. In addition, an examination is made as to whether the description of Thomas Mawson as being 'one of the most sought-after garden and landscape designers in the late 19th/early 20th centuries' applied in Bowness. This is undertaken in conjunction with an analysis of his garden designs.⁵⁵⁰

Whilst there have been comprehensive accounts of Mawson's life and work, these do not include a detailed analysis of either the species of conifers he preferred in his designs or the manner in which he used them for ornamental purposes.⁵⁵¹ Contemporary authors tend to describe the individual species he may have planted under the collective name of 'conifer' with no attempt being made to distinguish species, as Janet Waymark has written: 'Mawson planted conifers around the edge of the land to shelter it, as he had done at Graythwaite'.⁵⁵² Although such a description is correct, this does not take into consideration the impact on the design of a garden, both aesthetically and practically, that different species can make. His recommendations for particular conifer species or cultivars and the manner in which he suggested they should be planted are therefore also analysed with reference to his writings and the gardens he actually created in Bowness. (The latter is examined further in two gardens attributed to him: Langdale Chase, Case Study I; and Lindeth Fell on the Storrs Estate, Case Study II.)

10.2. Changes in garden design

10.2.1. Conifers in 'Old English Formal' and Arts and Crafts gardens in Bowness

In Bowness today, there is still evidence for gardens having been designed in a style similar to the

⁵⁵⁰ *Nomination Document*, p. 132.

⁵⁵¹ For comprehensive accounts of his life and work, see Janet Waymark, *ibid.* (2009) and Harriet Jordan, 'Thomas Hayton Mawson 1861–1933. The English garden designs of an Edwardian landscape architect' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Imperial College, London: 1988). Mawson' (1988).

⁵⁵² Waymark (2009), p. 37.

'Old English Formal' as advocated by Blomfield, and evident in the designs of Lucas and Lodge, with several of these being appropriate for holiday or retirement homes. A number of gardens at this time have also been retrospectively referred to as Arts and Crafts in style. These are predominantly those that were designed by Mawson for houses built in the Arts and Crafts style of architecture, most notably Blackwell designed by Mackay Hugh Baillie Scott (1865–1945), Moor Crag designed by Charles Voysey, and a few constructed by the local builders, Pattinson.⁵⁵³

It has been argued that the architectural style of Arts and Crafts houses was readily accepted in the area because it 'represented a return to vernacular and within its internal decoration celebrated the individual skill of the craft worker'.⁵⁵⁴ In addition, the owners of these properties — usually the 'offcomers' whose wealth had been founded on industries that were completely at odds with the ideology of the Arts and Crafts Movement — were also accepted because their presence 'was made more palatable when then they were perceived to endorse traditional skills and where architects and designers aimed to blend these new residences into their rural setting'.⁵⁵⁵ This is surprising, as their lifestyles were a complete contrast with those of the local population, particularly as 'audacious displays of wealth [...] could still be seen in yachts and social gathering on Lake Windermere centred around the Royal Yacht Club [in Bowness]'.⁵⁵⁶

The gardens that were created also helped to blend the new homes into the landscape, but this was only after several years had elapsed when the plantings had matured. Just as elsewhere in the country, architects probably designed the hard landscaping and left the planting to nurserymen, who would also have supplied the plants. The difficulty here is that only occasionally is there any information to substantiate this, one example being an illustration of High Moss, Keswick, a house and garden designed by the architect William Henry Ward (1865–1924). This illustration gives a very clear depiction of the style of the garden, including the use of

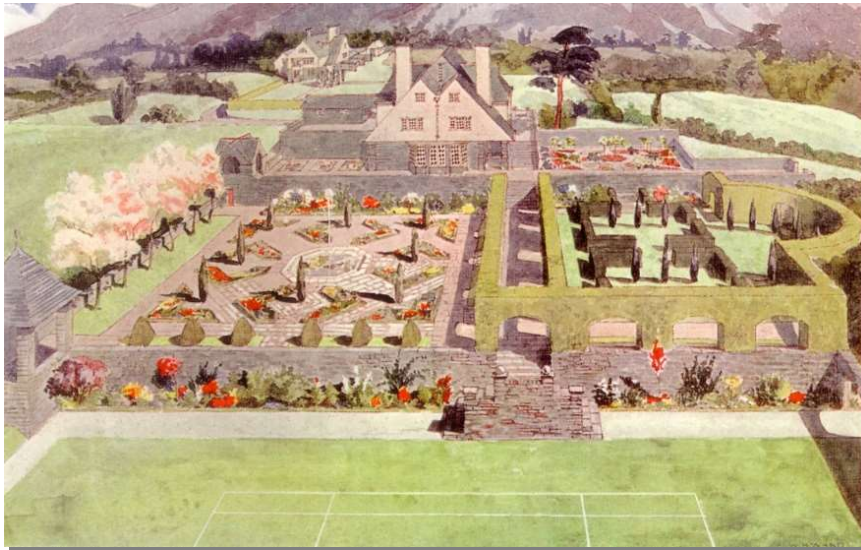
⁵⁵³ Mawson writes of his coming into 'frequent contact with the architect' and that he was commissioned to do the garden of Moor Crag for Mr Buckley. Thomas Mawson, *The Life and Work of An English Landscape Architect; An Autobiography* by Thomas H. Mawson FLS (Manchester: 1927), p. 88.

⁵⁵⁴ Brunton, *The Arts and Crafts Movement in the Lake District* (2001), p. 15.

⁵⁵⁵ Ibid.

⁵⁵⁶ Ibid.

conifers (Figure 10.1).⁵⁵⁷ A formal style, similar to the 'Old English Formal' is evident, and in its



**Figure 10.1 High Moss, Portinscale, Keswick.
House and garden designed by William Henry Ward (1900).
A very formal use of conifers with narrow conically shaped ones and clipped hedges.**

creation, the land was probably levelled to accommodate both the enclosed area and the tennis court. The influence of nature, as advocated by Wordsworth, therefore appears to be negligible, with no attempt being made to embrace the natural contours of the land. On the contrary, high walls and hedges have created a barrier between the garden and the natural landscape beyond. The garden is also very inward-looking, which for its expansive setting seems inappropriate. This is possibly explained by the situation being exposed to high winds and the garden requiring shelter. Although conifers have been included, the majority are all of a similar formal shape (probably retained by clipping), with only a single Scots pine being evident outside the formal garden area. As an architect, it is unlikely that Ward had sufficient knowledge to choose which conifer species to plant and so, similar to other architects such as Blomfield, probably relied on a gardener or nurseryman to undertake this, with the choice being dependent upon the shape required by the architect.⁵⁵⁸

Of considerable assistance today in ascertaining the presence of conifers in these new gardens in Bowness — which species and where they were planted — is the improvement

⁵⁵⁷ Ward worked as an assistant to Dan Gibson from 1893 to 1894? See scottisharchitects.org.uk. According to Judith Tankard, he also worked for Edwin Lutyens. *Gardens of the Arts and Craft Movement*, Ch. 4. fn. 5, p. 198.

⁵⁵⁸ No archival material is available to substantiate this, or which nursery may have supplied the plants.

in photography that had occurred by the end of the nineteenth century. In many of these photographs of houses of this time — which appeared in books and magazines, particularly *Country Life* — gardens, or parts of gardens, were also depicted, and from these an indication of the use of conifers can be gleaned. An example of this is a photograph of the garden that surrounds Broadleys (Figure 10.2). Here, a number of conifers are present: large, mature specimens to the front of the property, helping to give privacy from the adjacent road, and smaller, more formal, conifers with conical crowns in the garden area behind the wall.⁵⁵⁹



**Figure 10.2 Broadleys, Bowness-on-Windermere (Photograph 1904).
House (and possibly the hard landscaping of the garden) designed by Charles Voysey.
Conifers much in evidence to the front of the property, helping to obscure the adjacent road.**

10.2.2. The extent of the influence of Robinson and Jekyll on gardens and conifer plantings

Neither Robinson nor Jekyll had a direct influence on gardens in Bowness, as neither designed an actual garden in the area, their work being undertaken primarily in the south of the country, particularly in the home counties. However, Robinson may have had an indirect influence through his extensive publications, as these would have enabled gardeners to follow his advice on the suitability of various conifer species for planting in gardens. But as Jekyll wrote nothing of consequence on conifers, it is unlikely that she made a contribution to their use in Bowness.

As regards creating a 'Woodland Garden', as advocated by Robinson, this was only possible on large estates where there were either existing woods or sufficient land to enable new

⁵⁵⁹ It is not known who designed this garden, and Mawson does not mention the property in his autobiography.

woods to be created. As there were few large estates in Bowness, woodland gardens were a rarity in this area, with the only notable one being Stagshaw Gardens (out of the area of research and not created until the 1920s). Whilst other woods or plantations (not for forestry) were created, these do not appear to have had the underplanting of shrubs and herbaceous plants as recommended by Robinson and cannot be considered 'Woodland Gardens'. This type of planting is more typical for parkland and is evident in the research area at Fallbarrow Hall and outside the area at Rydal Hall.

10.3. Thomas Mawson

10.3.1. Early career in the Lake District

Unlike Morris, Blomfield, Robinson, Jekyll, and many of the main proponents of the Arts and Crafts movement, whose influence was predominately in the south of the country, Mawson was born and lived for most of his working life in the north of England and undertook approximately thirty commissions in the Lake District.⁵⁶⁰

Mawson received no formal training either in architecture or in garden design but instead obtained much of the knowledge necessary to enable him to become a garden designer through working first with his uncle a builder and then in the horticultural trade, being employed at different times by several nurseries in and around London.⁵⁶¹ It is not known how much of an influence Morris, Robinson, or Jekyll had on his views, as he was silent on the subject,⁵⁶² but he is thought to have come into contact with Jekyll whilst working in the horticultural trade and in relation to a garden for Boveridge in the Lake District.⁵⁶³ After establishing a successful nursery business, Mawson Bros. (later renamed Lakeland Nurseries Ltd), with his brothers Isaac and Robert in Windermere in 1885,⁵⁶⁴ Mawson was able to dedicate himself entirely to garden design work, which included designing new gardens, both at home and abroad, and reconfiguring old ones.⁵⁶⁵

⁵⁶⁰ An exact number is not possible, as some gardens that are attributed to Mawson have no evidence to confirm this claim. Jordan, 'Thomas Hayton Mawson 1861–1933 (1988) and Janet Waymark, *Thomas Mawson: Life, Gardens and Landscapes* (London: 2009), both of which include lists of his commissions in this area (and in the rest of the country and other countries).

⁵⁶¹ Elizabeth Kissack, *The Life of Thomas Hayton Mawson, Landscape Architect 1861–1933* (Windermere: 2006), pp. 2–3. These included John Wills and Thomas S. Ware, of Hale Farm Nurseries, Tottenham.

⁵⁶² With no mention in his autobiography, *The Life and Work* (1927).

⁵⁶³ This was Jekyll's only commission in the Lake District.

⁵⁶⁴ At New Road, Windermere.

⁵⁶⁵ Examples being at Rydal Hall and Graythwaite.

Mawson's career began at a time when an argument between Blomfield and Robinson — as to who was the most capable of designing a garden, architects, or gardeners — had not yet been resolved. Sensibly, Mawson did not involve himself in this argument, or in another heated debate between the same protagonists regarding whether the design of gardens should be informal or informal. Instead, he chose a composite style blending informality on the perimeter of his garden designs with formality nearer the house. This was a style of his own choosing, as he stated:

Throughout this work [*The Art and Craft of Garden Making*] I have endeavoured to make it clear that whilst I consider informal treatment the one most likely to give satisfactory results I do not think the art and craft of garden making is advanced by a slavish adherence to style or tradition.⁵⁶⁶

His early commissions in the Lake District, at Graythwaite Hall, Brockhole, and Moor Crag, established this style, which then became a consistent feature of his commissions in this area and elsewhere in the country.

10.3.2. Design principles

Many of Mawson's opinions on garden design were contained in *The Art and Craft of Garden Making*,⁵⁶⁷ a book that is accepted today as having established the foundation of modern landscape design.⁵⁶⁸ In this book, Mawson was able to define and illustrate the role of a 'landscape architect' in a manner that had not been done before.⁵⁶⁹ In her biography of Mawson, Janet Waymark describes this book, and its further editions, as 'practical guides to the making of plans for large country estate gardens and smaller urban gardens, though these were still much larger than today's garden plots'.⁵⁷⁰ In this respect, the book was an updated version of Loudon's *Suburban Gardener* particularly in that it gave practical advice and design

⁵⁶⁶ Mawson, *The Art and Craft*, 2nd edn (1901), in Ch. 2, 'The Choice of a Site and its Treatment', pp. 11–23.

⁵⁶⁷ Mawson published the first edition himself. The book included drawings by Charles Mallows, Robert Atkinson, and his son Edward Prentice Mawson, with later editions incorporating photographs. The book ran into five editions: 1900, 1901, 1907, 1912, and 1926. In each successive edition, photographs and design examples of his most prestigious commissions were included, replacing earlier and perhaps less prestigious commissions.

⁵⁶⁸ Judith Tankard, *Gardens of the Arts and Crafts Movement* (London: 2003), p. 91.

⁵⁶⁹ Mawson used the term 'Landscape Architect' to describe his profession. This is evident in the title to his autobiography: *The Life and Work of an English Landscape Architect* (New York: 1927). He was not, however, the first person to describe themselves as a Landscape Architect, as this was first used by the American, Frederick Law Olmsted (1822–1903). Mawson was also the first President of the newly created Institute of Landscape Architects in 1929.

⁵⁷⁰ Waymark (2009), p. 216.

examples — these examples all being exclusively from Mawson's own work. The book also, and perhaps more importantly to Mawson who was a devout Christian, emphasized the importance of gardens for the general well-being of mankind. However, as Waymark has commented, it was the usefulness of this book in the practical advice it gave to gardeners and garden owners of the time that 'cannot be underestimated', for not only were lists of plants, shrubs, and trees — broad-leaved deciduous and conifers — included for specified sites, but also descriptions and examples of all manner of features for hard landscaping were included.⁵⁷¹

Initially, Mawson's guiding principle was that 'Nature was the conductor, and Art the first fiddle'. Here, he was reiterating the views of Wordsworth and Ruskin in making nature of paramount importance. However, some years later, he noted that his earlier work had concentrated too heavily on the natural landscape and had ignored architecture as an art form, stating: 'a subject [should be] ruled by art and not merely [be] an imitation of Nature'.⁵⁷² In his autobiography, he also stated that he was against 'slavishly' copying nature and did his best to dissuade the instructions of a client who wished to create a 'wilderness'.⁵⁷³ Instead, he acknowledged the influence of 'Repton, Sir Uvedale Price and Kemp', and that as regards their views, his 'sympathies were all with Repton'.⁵⁷⁴ He may also have been influenced by Robinson in wanting to create more naturalistic areas further away from the house, but there is no evidence in his writings to substantiate this. As a consequence, his designs contained a mixture of formality and informality. For each of these, he chose conifer species that were best suited, which included having the neat pyramidal shape of some species of *Juniperus* and *Cupressus* in the formal area, and the larger-growing *Chamaecyparis*, *Picea*, and *Abies* species in the informal area. This type of planting was evident in a number of his designs, including: 'Hillside garden in Windermere' (Figure 10.3). In the formal area of this design, conifers of a similar size and shape (possibly juniper kept clipped or Italian cypress) have been planted in a regimental manner. In addition, there are topiary spheres on buttresses and hedges with arches (probably of yew) that all contribute to the formality of the design of the hard landscaping. In this and

⁵⁷¹ For reasons unknown, these plant lists were omitted from later editions.

⁵⁷² T. H. Mawson, *Hanley park, Hanley* (1894), pp. 7, 55.

⁵⁷³ Mawson, *The Life and Work* (1927), pp. 91–92.

⁵⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 8.

other designs, topiary was included by Mawson because, unlike Robinson, he considered this feature to be essential in creating structure.⁵⁷⁵ Outside the formal area of this design is an informal grouping of large, conically shaped conifers, probably Norway spruce, that may have been planted out of necessity as a windbreak.

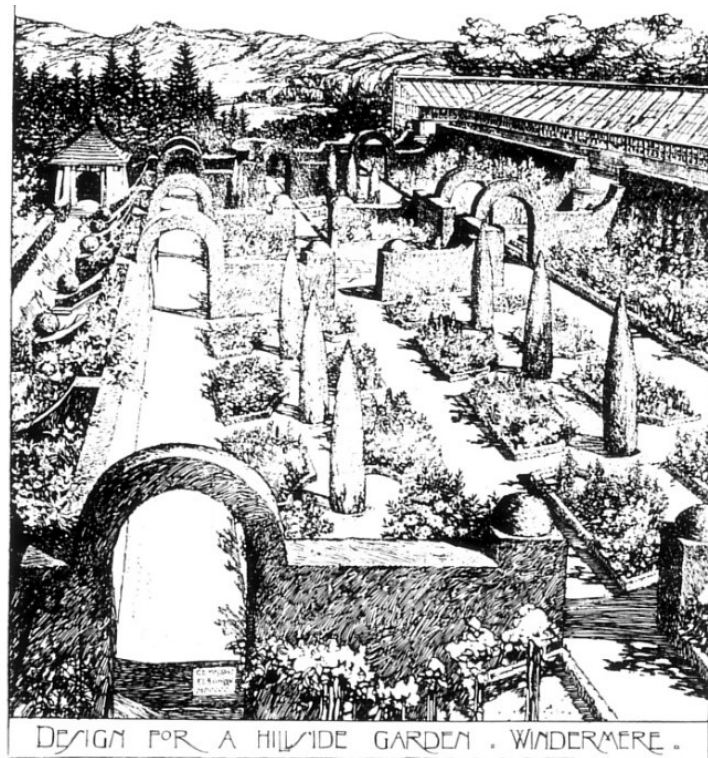


Figure 10.3 'Design for a Hillside Garden, Windermere', by Thomas Mawson.

Whilst Mawson concurred with the view of architects, such as Blomfield, that there should be unity between the house and the garden, he also held the view that consideration must be given to

the natural contour of the land, and the characteristic of the landscape, more especially of that portion which comes within the proposed garden boundary. For instance; there may be a beautiful stream or pond, perhaps a group of silver Birches, or Scotch firs, rocky projection, and scores of other details, which could not be destroyed, but must be made to form an integral part, in some way or other, of the garden design.⁵⁷⁶

At Moor Crag, it is evident that despite the difficulty of creating a garden on such a difficult site,

⁵⁷⁵ Mawson (1901), p. 5, for his views on topiary.

⁵⁷⁶ Ibid., p. 6.

mature trees were retained (Figure 10.4). He was also keenly aware that all his design principles



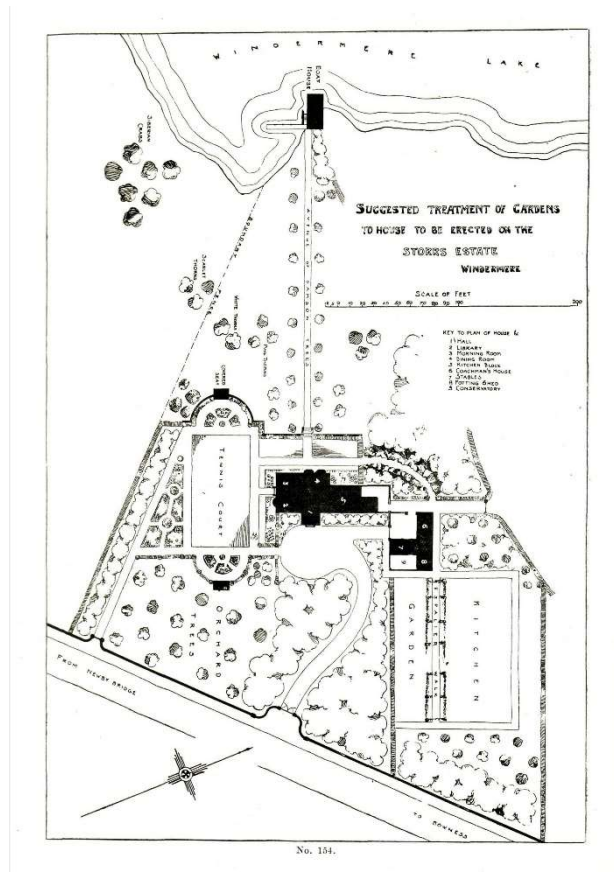
Figure 10.4 Moor Crag — house designed by C. F. H. Voysey, garden by Thomas Mawson. Creating gardens in the rocky terrain of the Lake District required a considerable amount of landscaping, but where possible, natural features such as existing mature trees, as here, were retained.

should be subject to the needs of his clients, their wishes being paramount. Therefore, as a consequence of recreational activities being a priority to owners, particularly those whose properties were holiday homes, most of Mawson's designs had to incorporate a tennis lawn (often more than one), a croquet lawn, and on occasions a bowling green.

As Mawson's over-riding principles were to create a garden appropriate for his clients and the site, this may be why many of his designs for gardens were very similar, almost formulaic, as they all included many of the same features.⁵⁷⁷ A number of these are evident in his design entitled: 'Suggested Treatment of Garden to house to be Erected on the Storrs Estate, Windermere'. In this design, the garden has a predominantly formal layout with informality further away from the house. A tennis court, with bastions top and bottom, orchard, kitchen garden, curved driveway, flower beds and borders, and shrubberies all appear in this design, as they do in most of his others (Figure 10.5).⁵⁷⁸ The only major difference between his designs was their layout, which was usually dictated by the shape and size of the plot, with no two

⁵⁷⁷ Thomas H. Mawson, 'The Unity of the House and Garden' *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects*, 3rd series, vol IX, no 14, 31 May 1902, pp. 357–75. For details and examples of all the features included by Mawson in his gardens, see Jordan (1988).

⁵⁷⁸ See Jordan (1988).



natural features; more especially the contour of the land, the character and extent of existing plantations, as well as the extent and composition of views which are to be obtained from the higher ground'.⁵⁸¹ Whilst it is clear from the plan that broad-leaved and coniferous trees have been mixed together in groups (delineated in red, Figure 10.6), with the largest plantation being

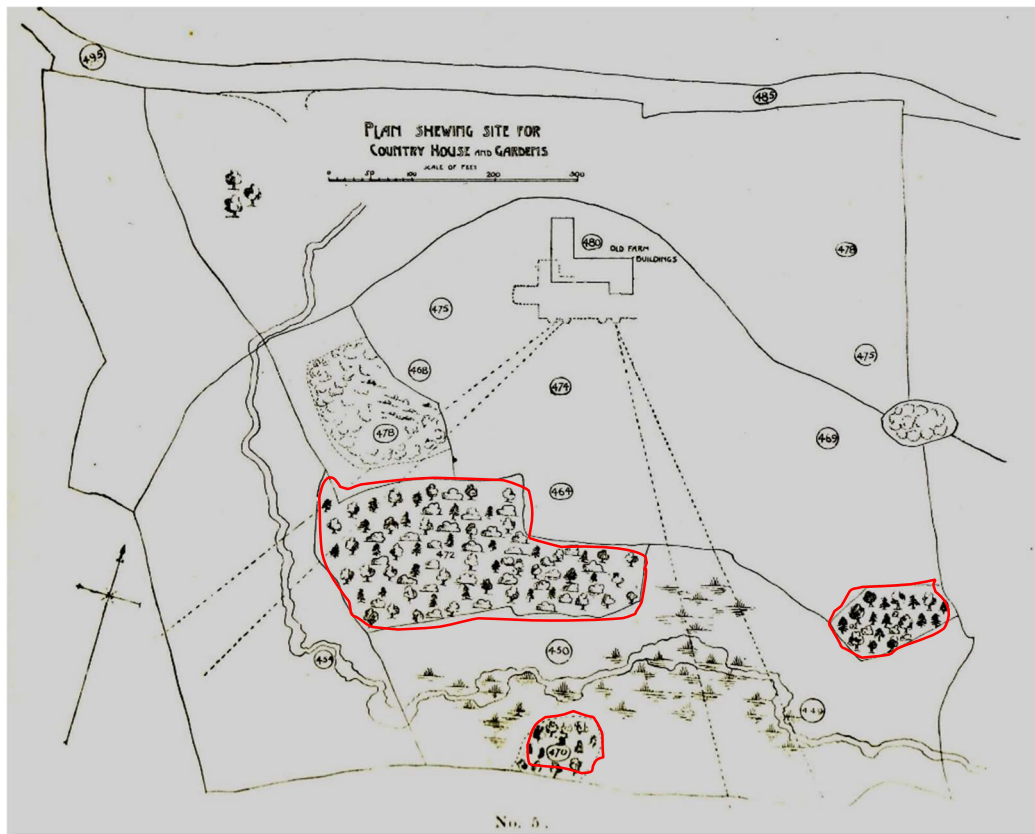


Figure 10.6 'Plan Shewing Site for Country House and Gardens' by Thomas Mawson, depicting the positioning of plantations (delineated in red) to provide shelter to the house.

to the south of the house to give shelter from southerly winds — there are no planting plans or a list of the conifer species he wanted to include. As a consequence, it cannot be said which species he used for these plantations. The manner of planting also appears to be somewhat random on the plan, and unlike those produced by Loudon, there were no accompanying planting descriptions. Therefore, information on this has to be gleaned from elsewhere. This includes from Mawson's chapter on 'Planting for Landscape Effect', in which he discussed how shelter belts should be planted and which species were appropriate. As regards the latter, he

⁵⁸¹ Ibid., p. 13.

strongly recommended the native tree, *Pinus sylvestris* — Scots pine, which he particularly favoured for this purpose, arguing that it was 'one of the few pines which seem to associate with English landscape scenery'.⁵⁸² Conversely, he did not consider many introduced conifers to be appropriate for landscapes; instead, he argued that 'It may therefore be taken as a safe rule not to plant, outside the pleasure grounds, trees, shrubs or conifers which have a foreign look about them'.⁵⁸³

In his designs, Mawson placed considerable emphasis on the architectural treatment of gardens, and in much the same way as Blomfield and other architects. The majority of his designs therefore contained a considerable amount of hard landscaping. This included terracing, particularly around the house, giving the latter 'architectural support'; terraced walls, with a variety of designs; retaining walls; steps; water features and pergolas, all of which were extensively illustrated in his book. Consequently, his style has been referred to as 'architectural'.⁵⁸⁴ Where he differed from architects was in being able to decide on the plantings, which species to plant, and in what manner, and this included conifers. However, although Mawson must have had an extensive knowledge of plants, gained from his time working in London nurseries and the family's nursery, he was at times unclear or confused regarding different conifer species. This is evident in his descriptions of the conifers he lists and describes in *The Art and Craft of Garden Making*.⁵⁸⁵

10.3.3. Conifers — species recommendations and manner of planting

From his writings, Mawson undoubtedly favoured the use of certain species of conifer. In the plant descriptions in *The Art and Craft* was a section just on conifers, and in this he clearly expressed his views on the use, and misuse, of this group of trees, as he explained:

No class of trees or shrubs requires more care in selection and arrangement than conifers.

So much so, that it is safe to add that more places are spoiled than improved by their use;

and yet there are many varieties which are of the greatest use to the garden designer. The fault generally lies with the planter, who perhaps does not recognise their effect, or the meaning of

⁵⁸² Mawson (1901), p. 148 and Chapter XII 'Planting for Landscape Effect', pp. 125–36. The trees he recommended for plantations in parkland were different from those he recommended for shelter belts or for screening purposes.

⁵⁸³ Ibid., p. 126.

⁵⁸⁴ Patrick Taylor, ed., *The Oxford Companion to the Garden* (Oxford: 2006), p. 303.

⁵⁸⁵ Mawson, *The Art and Craft* (1901), pp. 143–50, descriptions of conifers.

scale in garden design, and who, in the absence of this knowledge relies upon the perfectly well-meaning advice of his nurserymen. To guard against the serious errors which are perpetrated by planters, the list here given is confined to the most reliable varieties, and in one or two instances, where, owing to the popularity of species which the writer considers bad, a word of caution is added.⁵⁸⁶

The list Mawson referred to contained approximately one hundred species and a number of varieties, all of which had their characteristics described by him and where they were suitable for planting in gardens.⁵⁸⁷ One example was cedar of Lebanon, which Mawson considered had 'always been held in great repute by garden makers and improvers, and very properly too, as it is one of the most stately trees in both form and colour. A single specimen at maturity is a noble tree, whilst an avenue formed of cedars is one of the most majestic it is possible to rear'.⁵⁸⁸ In having such an opinion of this tree, he appears to have agreed with many of the gardeners and garden designers of the preceding centuries, including Lancelot Brown.⁵⁸⁹ Regarding the juniper family, he noted that there were: 'few families of evergreen trees and shrubs which include so many diverse forms'.⁵⁹⁰ Mawson was also very clear as to the situations to which he considered conifers were best suited:

Judging from observation, it may be said that nowhere do conifers look so much at home as in mountainous districts, especially when the buildings of the district are in cold grey stone, or in which there is a large amount of water, whether in the form of a river, lock, or lake. The explanation is probably to be found in two things: — First, that in such districts conifers attain a large size and most characteristic colouring; and in the second place, they supply just the requisite amount of warmth of tone to the district in the winter season.⁵⁹¹

Size and colour were, therefore, two of the attributes of conifers that Mawson admired, but this was only when they were planted in appropriate places, such as Scots pine on mountains

⁵⁸⁶ Mawson (1901), p. 143.

⁵⁸⁷ Ibid., list and recommendations for: Trees and Shrubs: Hardy Conifers for the Formal Garden, Pinetum and Lawn, pp. 143–49. It is not possible to give an exact number, as difficulties in nomenclature prevent this owing to various names having changed or being synonyms.

⁵⁸⁸ Mawson (1901), p. 146.

⁵⁸⁹ Including Sir John Evelyn, Sir John Hanmer, Lancelot Brown, John Claudius Loudon, and William Morris.

⁵⁹⁰ Mawson (1901), p. 146.

⁵⁹¹ Ibid., p. 143.

or beside water (Figure 10.7). Whilst it is evident, from Mawson's descriptions of different

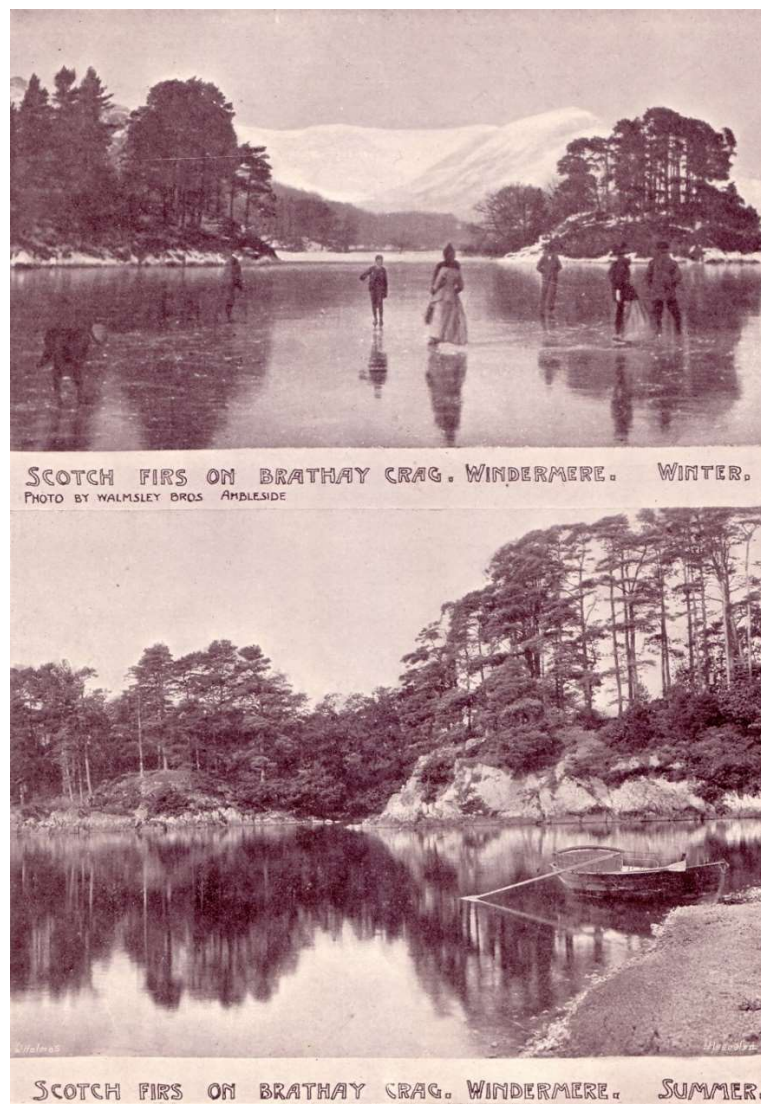


Figure 10.7 Mawson approved of conifers, particularly 'Scotch firs' in their natural setting, such as mountainous regions and beside lakes.

conifer species, that many met with his approval, others did not. An example of the latter was monkey puzzle, which he clearly disliked, describing it as the 'most unsuitable for garden planting; [and that] its proper place is in an arboricultural museum, or piece of ground devoted to freaks of nature'.⁵⁹²

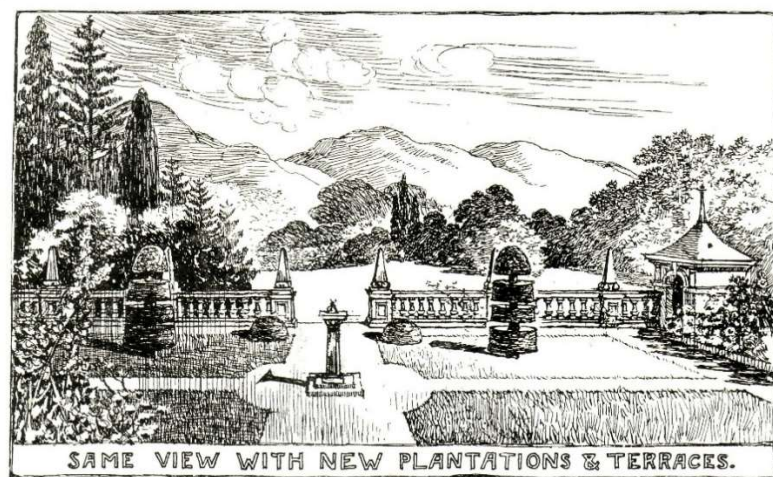
In relation to the use of conifers, Mawson explained how they might be helpful in the landscape for screening unsightly objects. He illustrated this (reminiscent of the work of Repton),

⁵⁹² Mawson (1901), p. 144.

with 'before' and 'after' illustrations (Figure 10.8). The former depicts industry on the left (with



No. 125.



No. 126.

**Figure 10.8 Top: Before tree plantings, with industry and cottages present.
Below: the same view after tree plantings, which now obscures the industry and cottages.**

two large chimneys) and a row of cottages on the right, both of which in the 'after' illustration have been screened by trees with conifers (on the left) being very evident for this purpose. As indicated by the various shapes, different conifer species are present in the parkland, most probably belonging to the genera *Thuja*, *Chamaecyparis*, and *Picea* or *Abies*, and in the formal gardens topiary of tiered yews is evident. Although the garden in the bottom illustration is not attributed to being Rydal Hall's — where Mawson created the formal garden in 1909 — the view depicted has very marked similarities and features to the grounds of that hall, including balustrades, formal topiary (although not tiered), and various coniferous plantings. However, unlike in the before illustration, there were no unsavoury features that needed to be

excluded at Rydal, and conversely rather than improving the view, the many mature trees now block what would otherwise be open and far-reaching views (Figures 10.9 & 10.10). In his



Figure 10.9 Rydal Hall — view from the formal garden over the parkland (2017). Conifer plantings are much in evidence, with trees being grouped together in a similar manner to those shown in the 'after' illustration in Figure 10.8.



Figure 10.10 Rydal Hall — view from the formal garden over the parkland (2017). With the exception of part of the fells, the distant views from Rydal Hall are now completely obscured by trees, and conifers overtop their broad-leaved neighbours.

recommendations for conifers, Mawson also appeared to be somewhat contradictory, as, whilst they are clearly depicted in his landscapes, he argued:

That whilst conifers may, under certain conditions, be fitting objects for the garden, especially when used as formal trees on the terrace, they are seldom satisfactory when mixed with English trees in the park or home landscape; an exception to this rule may be made in favour of Scotch

firs, which have a fine effect when planted by themselves, or in conjunction with the silver Birch.⁵⁹³

In addition to designing the garden at Rydal Hall (Figure 10.11), Mawson may also have altered the garden at Rydal Mount (Figure 10.12). This garden included plantings very different



Figure 10.11 The Garden of Rydal Hall — designed by Mawson in 1909. Mature conifers, possibly planted during Mawson's redesigning of the gardens, are still much in evidence.



Figure 10.12 The garden at the front of Rydal Mount c. 1920, seventy years after Wordsworth's death. Described as an 'Example of Shrub-Screened Slope and Tree Grouping About a House (from Mawson's Garden Designs)'⁵⁹⁴ The conifer plantings would not have been present in Wordsworth's time and are not something of which he would have approved.

⁵⁹³ Mawson (1901), p. 137.

⁵⁹⁴ Thompson, *The Gardener's Assistant*, ed. by Watson (1905).

from the types of those that would have been present at the time Wordsworth lived at the property. Conifers included: *Cedrus deodar* — Deodar, western red cedar, *Thujopsis dolabrata* — Hiba, *Abies procera* — noble fir and various cultivars of Lawson cypress.⁵⁹⁵ These were all species that were fashionable in the 1860s and 1870s, and it would appear from this that Mawson, or whoever undertook the plantings, had little regard for Wordsworth's views regarding introduced conifers.⁵⁹⁶

There are around fifty existing garden plans of Mawson's garden designs, but these do not include detailed planting plans.⁵⁹⁷ In relation to this, only one has been discovered, and this was for the garden of The Firs (location unknown) and is hand-drawn in pencil (Figure 10.13). The

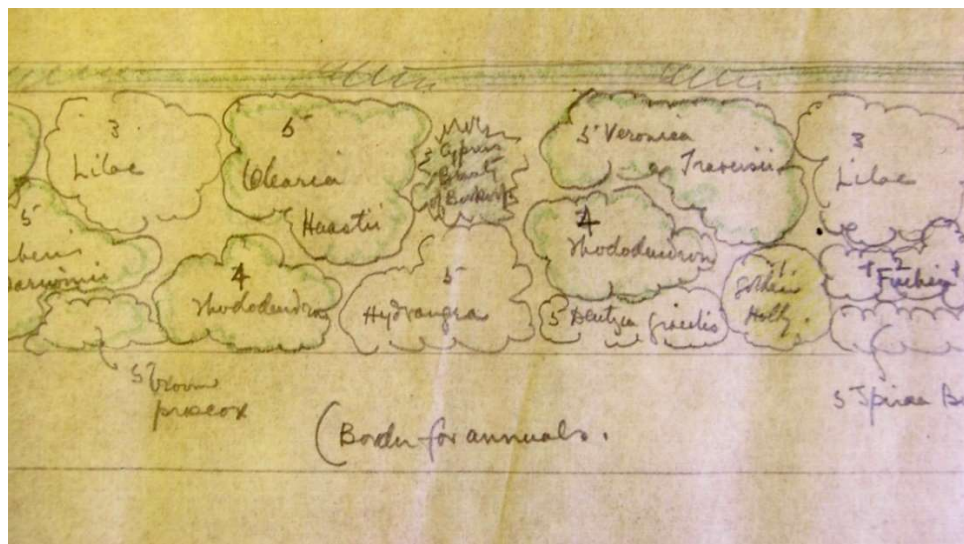


Figure 10.13 A planting plan (detail) for a border in the garden of The Firs (location unknown). A rare example of one of Mawson's planting plans and in which conifers feature, with cypress 'Beauty of Berkert' being centrally placed.

plan included the following conifers in a border (as written on the plan): cypress 'Beauty of Berkert', centrally placed, which meant that it was probably a tall, narrow cultivar (not known today) with *Cedrus atlantica* 'Glauca' in the left-hand corner.⁵⁹⁸ Either side of a path, planted

⁵⁹⁵ There is no archival material for Rydal Hall, nor after Wordsworth's death for Rydal Mount, but the flat bowling area together with bastion in this garden is indicative of Mawson's work, and the garden is acknowledged by Thompson as being Mawson's work. fn. 29. However, the date the alteration occurred is not recorded, and the dates of the publication of Thompson's book (1905) and Mawson designing Rydal Hall's garden do not correspond. The plantings at Rydal Mount must have been carried out prior to the 1900s, as, in the photograph, they look well established.

⁵⁹⁶ Although as yet, there is no evidence to indicate who undertook the various conifer plantings, particularly those in the woodland area beyond the croquet lawn. *Fagus sylvatica* 'Laciniata' — cut-leaved beech and *F. sylvatica* 'Purpurea' — copper beech are also present, again typical fashionable Victorian plantings and not liked by Wordsworth.

⁵⁹⁷ No details of planting plans are contained in either Jordan's thesis or Waymark's biography.

⁵⁹⁸ CASK, WDB/7/149.

in a regular, formal manner, were *Taxus baccata* 'Fastigiata' and *T. baccata* 'Fastigiata Aurea' with '*Cupressus lutea*' (today *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* 'Lutea') at either end. The conifers in the border have been planted together with evergreen shrubs such as rhododendrons and variegated holly and flowering shrubs. These are all permanent plantings and are behind a narrow border at the front of the bed for annuals to give summer colour. No herbaceous perennials are present; as they are very labour-intensive, they may not have been considered appropriate for the garden if this property was a holiday home.

As there was only one detailed planting plan that was evident from archival research, information on the conifers Mawson planted and how he used them ornamentally has to be gleaned from other sources, primarily photographs of garden plantings in, amongst other sources, *The Art and Craft*. From these, different types of conifers can be deduced, if not to species level then at least to their genus. Such photographs are also helpful in indicating the manner in which conifers were planted. This includes how variety was obtained by using conifers with different shapes, textures, and colours. Such variety is indicated in the photograph 'In a Westmoreland Garden' (Figure 10.14), where dwarf and dome-shaped cultivars are planted at the front of the central bed with larger species or cultivars at the back — most

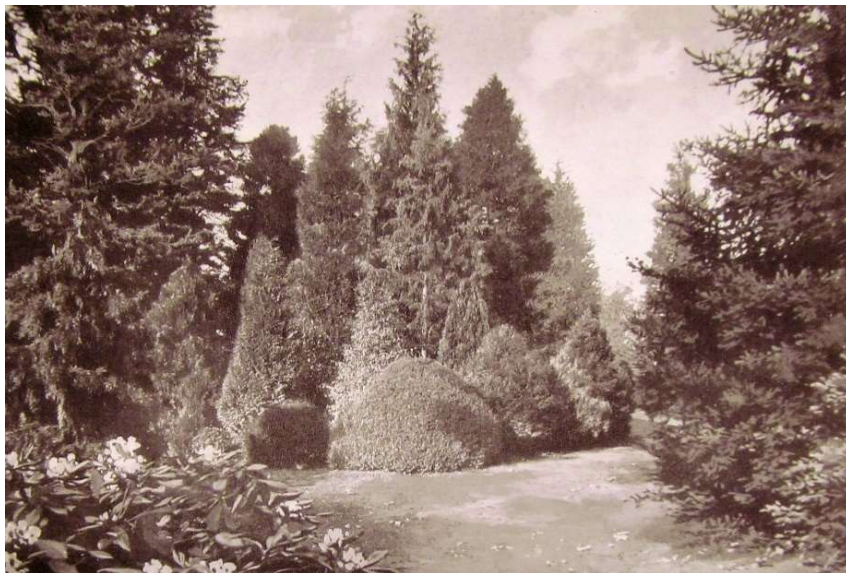


Figure 10.14 'In a Westmoreland Garden: Example of Effective Grouping of Conifers (From Mawson's Garden Designs)'.⁵⁹⁹

By utilizing many different species and cultivars, Mawson was able to achieve considerable variety in his conifer plantings.

⁵⁹⁷ Thompson (1905), p. 83.

probably *Chamaecyparis* or *Thuja* species or their cultivars. In the foreground on the left is a mature species probably of an *Abies* and on the right possibly a *Picea* species. The centrally placed dwarf conifers appear similar to *Picea glauca* 'Albertiana Conica', which in the 1970s was described by the horticulturalist Adrian Bloom as 'one of the most popular of all conifers being widely grown as a garden cultivar throughout Europe and North America'.⁶⁰⁰ Undoubtedly, in this area of the garden, conifers are the dominant plantings. From such photographs, it is also evident that Mawson, just like many other gardeners, planted conifers too closely together, resulting in their being squashed together as they matured. In the photograph 'Groups of Conifers in a Westmoreland Garden', variety has again been achieved by Mawson utilizing the different shapes, foliage texture, and colours of conifers (Figure 10.15). In relation to



Figure 10.15 'Groups of Conifers in a Westmoreland Garden'.⁶⁰¹
Here, the colour and shape of different conifer species and cultivars have been used by Mawson to create variety (albeit the planting is already somewhat squashed together). This includes large trees, such as *Cedrus deodard*, with a conical crown, being at the back and the less tall, narrow *Chamaecyparis* species being between these and dwarf varieties at the front of the beds.

the latter, the first golden-coloured cultivar of *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* was 'Lutea', which was introduced c. 1870. How these yellow varieties of conifers may have looked in Mawson's gardens can be seen when looking at a more recent garden such as Adrian Bloom's Dell

⁵⁹⁸ Adrian Bloom, *Conifers for Your Garden* (Nottingham: ['n.d.']), p. 99.

⁶⁰¹ Mawson (1901), p. 143.

Garden at Bressingham, Norfolk (Figure 10.16).



Figure 10.16 'An association of shrubs and conifers in the Dell Garden, Bressingham'⁶⁰² (1970s). Yellow cultivars of *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* contrasting well against the darker colours of other conifers.

Although, in comparison with Mawson, there would have been few architects, if any, who had the necessary knowledge to decide which conifers were appropriate and suitable for planting in their designs, Mawson undoubtedly benefited from collaborating with fashionable architects such as Charles Voysey at Moor Crag and Mackay Hugh Baillie Scott at Blackwell. He also collaborated with the builders Pattinsons on the Storrs estate, but owing to a lack of evidence, including Mawson being silent on the subject (not even mentioning Pattinsons in his autobiography), it is uncertain where this collaboration occurred.⁶⁰³ For a short period, Mawson also went into partnership with the Lake District architect Dan Gibson, and together they worked on numerous projects including Mawson's home, the Corbels (Figure 10.15).⁶⁰⁴ In this garden, conifers are evident at the front of the house, perhaps a questionable choice, as they already appear to be quite large-growing specimens. As this was his own garden, the presence of these conifers indicates that these trees were admired by Mawson and were planted not out of

⁶⁰² Bloom, *Conifers for Your Garden* (1970s), p. 33.

⁶⁰³ The only evidence for this is anecdotal with Dianna Matthews, the grand-daughter of George Pattinson, stating they collaborated closely on many projects. Similarly, the Kennedy family, of Lindeth Fell, maintain it was Mawson who designed the garden to this property, but again there is no evidence to substantiate this. No property designed and built by Pattinsons on the Storrs estate is contained in the list of Mawson's commissions in Janet Waymark's biography of Mawson.

⁶⁰⁴ Only a three-year partnership, 1897–1900, owing to Gibson's untimely death in 1907.

necessity but out of choice. Mawson was also fortunate in that the conifers supplied for his garden, and probably most of those that he designed and created, were supplied by the family's nursery.⁶⁰⁵



Figure 10.17 The Corbels — the home of Thomas Mawson — designed by Dan Gibson with conical conifers planted in the garden at the front of the house, which were probably supplied by the family's nursery.

10.4. Conclusion

10.4.1. Garden design

Unlike the Gothic Revival architectural style that arrived in Bowness several decades after the rest of the country, the new Arts and Crafts style arrived at the same time. This was primarily because a number of wealthy offcomers employed the fashionable and notable Arts and Crafts architects of the day, such as Voysey and Baillie Scott, to design their homes. To accompany these new homes, the owners had gardens created that were appropriate for their lifestyles. Having established himself as a garden designer in the area, just at the same time as these new homes were being built, Mawson was undoubtedly well placed, living and working where he did, to undertake their commissions and fulfil their wishes.⁶⁰⁶ For the more prestigious properties

⁶⁰⁵ As no plant catalogues of this nursery have been obtained, it is not known which conifers were offered for sale. However, it is highly probable that they were the same as those listed by Mawson in *The Art and Craft* (1901).

⁶⁰⁶ For his commissions, see fn. 3, Waymark (2009) and Jordan (1988), for comprehensive accounts of his commissions in the Lake District.

(eight so far attributed to him in Bowness), he was undoubtedly a 'sought-after' garden designer, whether this was working by himself or in collaboration with the builders, Pattinson (although there is no evidence to indicate how many gardens this may have been).

As a consequence of the type of client Mawson worked for being predominantly of the same social status, his designs for their gardens appear very similar. This was because the offcomers' requirements were essentially the same, with privacy and social and recreational facilities being paramount. With the offcomer society being so close-knit, Mawson would soon have fallen out of favour and not received any further commissions, if he had not fulfilled their wishes. Many of the same features therefore appeared in his gardens. These were similar to those being advocated in the Old English Formal/Arts and Crafts style by architects such as Blomfield et al. However, his designs in Bowness also differed in that he had to take into account the difficult terrain of the area, he wished to include natural features, and he was able to rely on his own horticultural knowledge for deciding on which conifers to plant. For Mawson, practicalities took precedence over fashionable trends, and using conifers was a sensible choice for planting in Bowness for several practical reasons: firstly, they were well suited to the environmental conditions; secondly, they were less labour-intensive than other types of plantings such as herbaceous borders, thus making them suitable for holiday homes, where the expense of a gardener could be lessened; and thirdly, unlike deciduous trees, shrubs, and herbaceous plants, conifers provided colour and interest all year round.

There is also some evidence (although outside the area of research), such as at High Moss, to indicate that architects were designing the hard landscaping of gardens in the area (and leaving the planting to others), and that the style of these gardens was similar to those being advocated by Blomfield.

10.4.2. Conifer plantings

Other than for Mawson, there is very little evidence to indicate who else planted conifers in Bowness. A satisfactory assessment of the species planted, and in what manner, has therefore only been possible for Mawson. However, it is very clear, from the number of conifers still present from this time, that other people, whether home owners, gardeners, or nurserymen, were also planting conifers in significant numbers. With regard to this, and although there is no evidence

to substantiate it, Mawson's use of conifers will have influenced others in their choice of conifers, particularly as Mawson's family's nursery would have been able to supply these trees. He kept them fashionable in Bowness when, in other places in the country, others were considering them old-fashioned. This is evident from the similar plantings in the area that indicate many of the same species were planted, including western red cedar and Lawson cypress and its cultivars, and those favoured by Mawson such as the cultivars of *Chamaecyparis pisifera* — Sawara cypress.

As regards Mawson's conifer recommendations and his actual conifer plantings, these do not appear to have been influenced by the views of Wordsworth, Ruskin, or Veitch's,⁶⁰⁷ and he was certainly not influenced by Jekyll. This probably accounts for why he paid no attention to conifers being considered old-fashioned elsewhere at this time. However, he did not ignore the fashionable status of herbaceous plants and herbaceous borders, as he did include these in his gardens, but they did not take precedence over his conifer plantings.

Mawson included conifers in both the formal and informal areas of his designs, but whilst he was able to incorporate their different shapes and colours to advantage and to suit various types of gardens, his choice appears to be somewhat limited (discussed more fully in Case Study I and III). He neither wrote about, nor included, many of the new species or cultivars available at the time, and he makes no mention of either of the editions of Veitch's *Manual of the Coniferae* being of help in his choice of species.⁶⁰⁸ This may have been because these new conifers were unfamiliar to him, and their suitability for gardens unknown rather than a dislike. Owing to a lack of planting plans, and with many conifers no longer being present in the gardens he designed (having died or been felled), it is difficult to state with any certainty the numbers of conifers Mawson planted and which species these were. However, there is no doubt from the number of commissions Mawson undertook in the area in which he planted conifers, and the influence he would have had on others, that he did make a significant contribution to their planting in Bowness. His conifer plantings, and those of others, also

⁶⁰⁷ Whilst Mawson mentions Lancelot Brown and Humphry Repton in his chapter on the history of gardens in *The Art and Craft*, he makes no mention of Loudon or the influences of Morris and the Arts and Crafts movement or Robinson et al. on the design of gardens of the time. *The Art and Craft* (1901), Chapter 1, 'Garden Making Old and New', pp. 1–9.

⁶⁰⁸ See Appendix I, for the conifers introduced during the Victorian era.

influenced the aesthetics of the landscape in Bowness, altering its 'sense of place', as conifers were now as numerous as deciduous broad-leaved trees, and in 'modern' gardens even more so, something that had not occurred before.

What is clear is that without the influx of the wealthy offcomers into Bowness whose wealth enabled them to build or purchase the new style homes together with their gardens, there would have been no scope for either Mawson or others to plant conifers in any significant numbers. Aesthetically, the 'sense of place' of Bowness would not have altered in respect of the contribution conifers made to gardens and the wider environment. Conversely, had Mawson, who favoured conifers, not been well placed to undertake commissions, the plantings in Bowness may have been very different. It was, therefore, the coming together of these two factors that significantly influenced the planting of conifers in Bowness after the 1880s.

11. Case studies

11.1. Introduction

Having established the style of gardens, and the manner in which conifers were planted for ornamental purposes in the period of this research, the aim of the case studies is to examine conifer plantings in extant gardens in Bowness created at different times between 1847 and 1914. No such studies as these have been previously undertaken, with conifers only being listed in reports by arboriculturists or tree surgeons without any historical context being given relating to the style and plantings of gardens.

From the information that is obtained, a detailed analysis will be made to discern whether there were any noticeable differences in conifer plantings and whether these correlated to the various fashionable styles for gardens. Most particularly, a detailed examination will be made as to how the gardens of Arts and Crafts houses compared with those of Gothic Revival houses. The plantings will also be evaluated within the context of the case studies to ascertain which species were planted and in what manner, and whether any followed the professional advice of the day, including in *Veitch's Manual*, and Mawson's in *The Art and Craft of Garden Making*. Historical documents in conjunction with extensive fieldwork will be used to fulfil the objectives.

After initial research was undertaken to establish suitable case studies, it became apparent that the majority of gardens in Bowness created during the Victorian and Edwardian eras had been severely altered by being divided up and built upon. Of the ones that remained relatively unaltered, only a very small number had sufficient historical documentary material to make research possible. As this considerably narrowed the number of suitable gardens, it was necessary to include the garden of Langdale Chase, slightly outside the designated area of research, as this garden was well documented, belonged to a house in the Gothic Revival style, was owned by one family, the Howarths, from its construction in 1890 until 1914, and had remained reasonably unaltered until 2018. It also still contained numerous conifers and, most importantly, was accessible, making fieldwork possible.

The second case study, Fallbarrow Hall, was chosen because after initial research, it was apparent that the property included not only a garden but also parkland (the latter being

unique in Bowness) with an exceptional number of large conifers. An evaluation will be made of this parkland and whether it was representative of others in the country that were being created around the same time. Whilst, from initial research, it became apparent that photographs were the only archival material available, it was decided that these, in conjunction with extensive fieldwork (access again being available), would enable a reasonable analysis to be made of the conifer plantings, including which species and the manner of their planting.

The third case study decided upon was Storrs Hall and estate, as preliminary research revealed that this property was especially well documented for the years after it was sold in 1889 and developed by the builders, Pattinsons. An exceptional number of houses were built by Pattinsons on this estate between the years 1900 and 1914. The design of one of the gardens of these houses, Lindeth Fell, considered to have been by Mawson, was similar to those that have retrospectively been described as Arts and Crafts in style. From analysing the garden of this property, an evaluation will be made to determine: firstly, how this garden differed, if at all, from earlier gardens in the area; secondly, whether it was similar in style and contained conifer plantings in the manner of those being advocated for gardens elsewhere in the country; and thirdly, whether there were any significant differences in the species that were planted and the manner of their plantings for this time. In addition to Lindeth Fell, another property on the estate, Lindeth Howe, built in the 1880s before the Storrs estate was sold, is also included for analysis. It was considered that the conifers present might reflect the fact that this garden was created in a transitional period, being attached to a house neither in the earlier Gothic Revival style nor influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement.

For clarity, a table (Table 11.A) is included, indicating the factors behind the choice of gardens. In addition to those listed, Merewood, Brierly Wood, Rayrigg Hall, and Calgarth Park were also initially considered, but the first two were not only outside the area of research but also, unlike Langdale Chase, not as well documented. The last two were of the wrong period (primarily eighteenth century) and had very few conifers. The species that appear to have been particularly favoured for each of the gardens of the case studies are those that have been described in Section 3.

	1	2	3	4	5	6
Langdale Chase	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	1880s	No
Fallbarrow Hall	Yes	Yes	No	Yes	1880s	Yes
Storrs Estate	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	1790s — 1914	Yes
Lindeth Fell	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	1900s	Yes
Lindeth Howe	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	1880s	Yes
St. Catherine's	Yes	No	Yes	Some	Yes	No
Ellerray	Yes	Yes	No	No	1866	No
Holehird	Yes	No	Yes	Little	1860s	Yes
Browhead	Yes	Yes	No	No	1866	No
Wray Castle	Yes	Yes	No	No	1840s	No

Table

11.A Deciding factors for the choice of case studies

1. Access available.
2. Significant numbers of conifers present.
3. Reasonable archival material available, making research possible.
4. Photographic evidence.
5. Of the correct period.
6. Garden and/or parkland present in the area of research.

Case Study I — Langdale Chase

11.1.1. Introduction

This case study examines when, and by whom, this garden was created, the style of the garden, and whether this reflected the fashionable styles of the day. Which conifer species were planted, and in what manner they were planted for ornamental purposes, are also analysed.

11.1.2. The property

Langdale Chase is situated approximately two miles to the north of Bowness, adjacent to the A591 to the east and Lake Windermere to the west.⁶⁰⁹ The area is known as Low Wood and is where a notable coaching inn of that name, now a hotel, is situated and where visitors to the Lake District in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries frequently stayed.⁶¹⁰ Wordsworth commented on this inn, stating it was 'a most pleasant halting-place; no inn in the whole district [being] so agreeably situated for water views and excursions'.⁶¹¹

Around the 1860s, whilst much of the area around Low Wood was still part of the Lowther estate, owned by the Earl of Lonsdale of Lowther Castle, there were also a number of existing properties such as Holbeck Cottage,⁶¹² Holbeck House, Briery Close, and Low Wood Hotel, and all these appeared to have had substantial gardens.⁶¹³ However, notable properties today, such as Cringlemire, Brockhole, and Cragwood, all of which had gardens designed by Mawson, had yet to be built.⁶¹⁴ But by 1914, all these properties, together with Langdale Chase and Merewood House, had been constructed and their gardens created. Those of Langdale Chase and Merewood House⁶¹⁵ were representative of late Victorian gardens, whilst those of

⁶⁰⁹ See Case Studies' Appendices, Appendix I.B Figure 2. OS Map: Landranger Map 90 Penrith & Keswick (2009) Revised 1996–97.

⁶¹⁰ Today extensively altered and extended, and known as Low Wood House Hotel.

⁶¹¹ William Wordsworth, *Guide to the Lakes*, ed. Ernest de Sélincourt (London: 2004), p. 30.

⁶¹² This property was later renamed Briery Wood and is a hotel today.

⁶¹³ See Case Studies' Appendices: Appendix 1.C Figure 3, OS Map, contoured edn (1860).

⁶¹⁴ Cringlemire (unknown architect) built in 1900 for Mr Henry Martin; Brockhole, completed in 1900, for William Henry Adolphus Gaddum, a silk merchant from Manchester; Cragwood, designed by Frank Dunkerley, and built in 1910 for the industrialist Albert Warburton.

⁶¹⁵ Merewood House had originally been the site of a hunting lodge, built in 1814, which belonged to the Lowther estate.

Cringlemire, Cragwood, and Brockhole reflected the influence of the Arts and Crafts Movement on architecture and the design of gardens at the turn of the nineteenth century.

As a consequence of all these properties being built, many thousands of conifers were planted in this area for ornamental purposes in their gardens between the years 1890 and 1914. The presence of numerous conifers is evident from the Ordnance Survey map (revised edition of 1897), which clearly depicts these trees, including those in the garden of Merewood House planted on land that previously had no trees. The planting of ornamental conifers would undoubtedly have been spurred on by the owners and head gardeners of these properties who would all have known each other and would have exchanged plants and horticultural information. They may also have been competitive with regard to the plants they nurtured, particularly if they were unusual or rare. An example of the high regard in which conifers were held at this time is evident in the gardens of Merewood House and Holbeck Cottage. This is because the head gardener of Merewood not only tended a fine collection of conifers belonging to this property but also had his own collection at his home, Holbeck Cottage (now part of the Merewood estate).⁶¹⁶ In both of these gardens, there are still a number of extant conifers from this time, including a notable *Araucaria araucana* — monkey puzzle in the garden of Holbeck Cottage (Briery Wood Hotel today).

11.1.3. The creation of the garden

Originally, the area of land upon which Langdale Chase was built was woodland, known as Bowns Wood (11.670 acres in size). This woodland was bought in 1888 by Mr George Howarth, a businessman from Manchester, who wished to have a holiday home built on the site. In January 1889, a local firm of builders, Pattinsons, drew up a plan for a 'Proposed House near Low Wood, Windermere', but this did not come to fruition, owing to the untimely and unexpected death of Mr Howarth shortly afterwards. As his widow, Mrs Edna Howarth, decided she wanted a permanent home rather than a holiday home, further plans were drawn up in 1890, but this time by the architects Joseph Pattinson, and Ball and Elce, the latter being a Manchester-based firm with an office in Penrith. The builder George Grissenthwaite, and not Pattinsons, was employed

⁶¹⁶ This is evident in the extant species in the garden today.

to build the property, which took five years and cost approximately £32,000. The house, which was originally referred to as Low Wood, was renamed by Mrs Howarth as Langdale Chase.

In the same year as plans for the house were accepted, a 'Plan of Garden and Grounds' was also drawn up by the same architects (Figure 11.I.1).⁶¹⁷ Although the buildings and garden only occupied the northern half of the woodland area, of approximately six acres, it would seem likely that for these to be accommodated, this would have necessitated a number of trees being felled (Figure 11.I.2). These would have been mainly native, deciduous broad-leaved

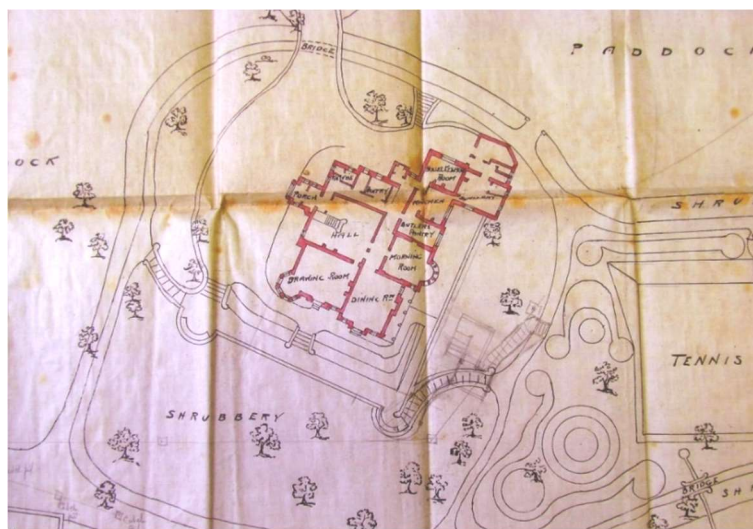


Figure 11.I.1 'Plan of Garden and Grounds' 3 December 1890 (detail), drawn up by the architects Joseph Pattinson, and Ball and Elce.

⁶¹⁷ See Bibliography for archival references.



Figure 11.1.2 Ordnance Survey Map, 1860 revised edition (1897).

The house and garden only occupied approximately half of Bowns Wood.

species such as *Quercus petraea* — sessile oak and *Betula pendula* — silver birch. However, it is also apparent from early photographs of the garden that a significant number of mature specimens were also retained. These would have given the garden an air of maturity, even though it was newly created (Figure 11.1.3). From the Ordnance Survey map (contoured edition of 1860), it is also evident that conifers were present, probably mainly *Pinus sylvestris* — Scots pine (a mature specimen of this species is present in an early photograph of the garden) together with a few *Picea abies* — Norway spruce.



Figure 11.I.3. Langdale Chase — The Garden (1890s) looking north with Lake Windermere on the left. This photograph shows the garden shortly after it had been created, with a number of mature trees having been retained from the original Bowns Wood.

11.I.4. Garden features and plantings

It is evident from the photographs that certain features of the 1890 garden plan were constructed. These included the terracing with its bastions, steps leading down to the lower part of the gardens, summer house, curving paths, and a bridge.⁶¹⁸ A tennis lawn was also included and later replaced with two hard courts, as is evident from photographs of the garden in the 1950s.⁶¹⁹ The 1890 plan also indicated the style of the beds, with the shape of those to the north and south of the tennis court being circular, either on their own or in a combination of elongated scrolls, typical of the time for accommodating fashionable Victorian bedding-out designs. The circular bed was definitely constructed, as it is evident both in photographs (Figures 11.I.3 & 11.I.4) and on the Ordnance Survey map of 1897. The early photographs of the garden are also particularly helpful in enabling comparisons to be made between plantings made just after it had been created in the 1890s and when more established approximately twenty years later. In the former, the plantings are small in the bed shaped like a boomerang (on the right below the house, Figure 11.I.3), whereas in the same bed by 1914, there are various conifer species of a considerable size (Figure 11.I.5).

⁶¹⁸ The bastions and terracing balustrades with ball finials appear in the architectural plans of 28 May 1890. CASK reference: WDB 133/2/191 (1889–90).

⁶¹⁹ As depicted in the hotel's brochure ([n.p.]: [n.d.]).



Figure 11.1.4 Photograph (1914) clearly showing a circular bed. This photograph, together with the Ordnance Survey Map, confirms that the circular bed on the 1890 proposed plan for the garden was constructed.



Figure 11.1.5 A very obvious grouping of four different conifer species, which by 1914 were well established compared to an earlier photograph depicting the same bed (Figure 11.1.3).

With the terrain being sloping, and quite steep in places, curving paths made the garden more accessible. The house was on the highest part of the ground and so from its elevated position overlooked not only Lake Windermere but the majority of the garden, which was to the south of the property (as is evident in Figures 11.1.2 & 11.1.3). In the 1890 plan, considerable areas were also devoted to shrubberies. These were primarily on the periphery of the property, including beside the lake, adjacent to the road, and also to the north and south of the property. All of these would have created privacy. In addition to shrubs, many of which at this time would

have been fashionable rhododendrons, these shrubberies also contained trees including conifers, which in later years undoubtedly obscured much of the views from the house over Lake Windermere.

The area of land the garden actually occupied in the 1890 plan was relatively small, as a considerable proportion of it was utilized by the tennis lawn and the two paddocks. The first was for recreation, with tennis appearing to be a necessity at this time, and the second would have been for the horses that pulled the carriages. This method of transport was rapidly being succeeded by the motor car, thus rendering the paddocks redundant, which may explain why these areas subsequently became part of the garden.⁶²⁰ The other half of Bowns Wood was left undeveloped with possibly the addition of a few exotic trees and shrubs, creating a woodland type garden. From a 1914 photograph of this wood, many of the trees appear to have been *Betula pendula* — silver birch.

Mrs Howarth, who lived in the property from 1894 to 1914, had a staff of sixteen: eight indoor servants and eight outdoor staff, the latter caring for the gardens, horses, carriages, and boats. During her occupation of the property, she took a keen interest in the garden. This is evident from her holding an annual chrysanthemum display of some several hundred plants — chrysanthemums being a fashionable and favourite plant of the Victorian gardener.

11.1.5. The involvement of Thomas Mawson

The design of the garden in 1894 is usually attributed to Mawson,⁶²¹ but the extent to which he was involved is not certain, as by this date, much of the hard landscaping, such as the terraces with their bastions and steps, had already been completed.⁶²² Difficulties have arisen in substantiating his involvement, as at the time of this research, archival references, particularly those by Waymark, have subsequently been altered by Cumbria Archive Service, Kendal, and cannot be traced. However, regardless of who designed the garden, a very clear indication of how it looked by 1914 can be gleaned from the photographs in the sales particulars of that

⁶²⁰ Plans make it clear that a design for the stable block included accommodation either for a carriage driver or for a chauffeur.

⁶²¹ Including by Janet Waymark.

⁶²² See CASK: WDB 133/2/163A 'Langdale Chase & Estate of the late Mrs Edna Howarth 1880-1939' in which no clear evidence is apparent regarding the work of Mawson at Langdale Chase.

date.⁶²³ Although the quality of these is not very good, they are still helpful for indicating the different characteristics of various conifer species and the manner of their planting (Figures 11.1.5 & 11.1.6). This included having conifers with contrasting foliage, both in habit and in colour, and of different sizes, with dwarf varieties being planted at the front of a bed or border (Figure 11.1.6). Photographs, whether old or recent, are also helpful in being a record of the trees in the garden,



**Figure 11.1.6 'View of Garden' (1914) (detail).
A border with a mixture of different conifer species creating variety with different sizes, habit, and colour, and with very few other types of plants.**

and they depict not only the size to which many of the original plantings had grown, but whether a particular conifer at a particular time was still present. An example of this is evident when comparing a black and white photograph taken around the 1950s with a photograph of around the 1980s. In the former, there were three large conically pointed trees at the front of the house (none of which are present today), whereas in the coloured photograph, only two are present. The coloured photograph also shows that the conifer on the left had yellow foliage, indicating it was probably *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* 'Aurea' (died or felled in the 1980s?) (Figures 11.1.7 & 11.1.8).⁶²⁴ In addition to the photographs of the garden that appeared in

⁶²³ CASK WDB 133/2/47, Unreferenced item.

⁶²⁴ This conifer appeared in a coloured photographic vignette on the letter heading of the hotel's stationery.

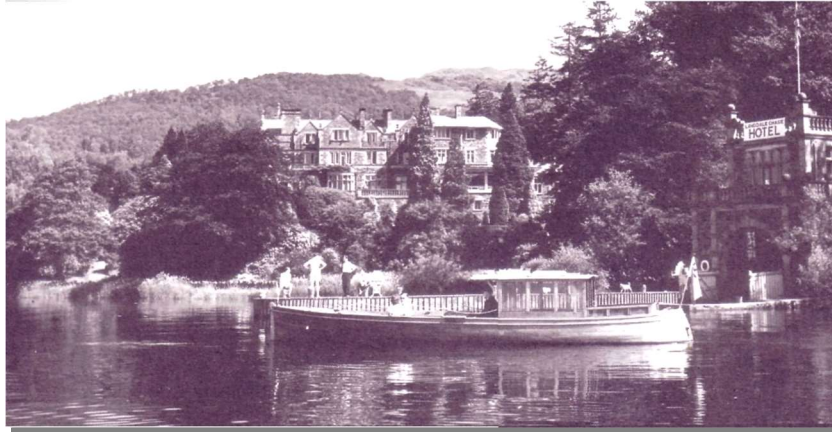


Figure 11.1.7 Langdale Chase Hotel — view from Lake Windermere (c. 1950s), with three very prominent conically shaped conifers (no longer present today).



Figure 11.1.8 Similar view but taken several decades later, with fewer conifers, but the large yellow cultivar still present.

the sales particulars, there was the following description:

The lovely grounds, gardens, and woodland of great natural beauty, with a wide frontage to the lake (affording special facilities for boating and fishing) include wide spreading undulating and level lawns of old turf, elegantly designed stone terraces overlooking a wonderful selection of thoroughly mature ornamental trees and shrubs, delightful glens, wilderness gardens, sylvan glades, wild woodland waterfalls and rustic summer house, the whole providing many fine viewpoints.⁶²⁵

In this description, the naturalness of the garden was clearly emphasized, with the trees being central to this, as indicated by 'a wonderful selection of thoroughly mature ornamental trees'

⁶²⁵ The sale of Langdale Chase was handled by: Messrs. Mason & Freeman, Auctioneers, Messrs. J. Wainwright & Sons, Estate Agents and Mr G. Shortland Ball, Solicitor.

and 'sylvan glades'. However, to encourage a potential buyer, with a view to making a profit from the trees, the following was also added: 'The finely grown timber, chiefly oak trees, will be included in the Property'.

11.1.6. Subsequent history after the property's sale in 1914

The heyday for the garden was undoubtedly whilst Mrs Howarth lived at Langdale Chase, as after her death in 1914, the property changed hands several times, becoming a hotel in the 1920s, which involved extensive alterations and extensions to the house. Other than some new plantings and some old ones being lost through disease and storm damage, the garden appears to have been left to mature more or less intact from its original conception until 2018. The magnificent trees, planted in the garden during the time Mrs Howarth resided in the property, are evident in an aerial photograph taken in the 1980s (Figure 11.1.9). This clearly shows



Figure 11.1.9 Langdale Chase Hotel — aerial view of the back of the hotel (1980s?).
An exceptional and diverse group of mature trees at the front (the north) of the property,
including: *Fagus sylvatica* 'Purpurea' — Copper Beech, *Sequoiadendron giganteum* — Wellingtonia,
***Thuja plicata* — Western red-cedar, *Abies procera* — Noble Fir,**
and several *Chamaecyparis* — false cypress species and cultivars.
the diverse mix of species including the typical Victorian combination of *Fagus sylvatica* 'Purpurea' — copper beech and conifers, including *Sequoiadendron giganteum* — Wellingtonia, *Thuja plicata* — western red-cedar and *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* — Lawson cypress. Since this photograph was taken, many of these conifers no longer exist, having been

felled owing to disease or storm damage — a process that must have also occurred in the past and which still continues today — and the recent clearances that have taken place.⁶²⁶

11.1.7. Conclusion

The garden of Langdale Chase was created in the 1890s, a time when changes were occurring in the design for houses and gardens. But neither this house nor the garden was created in the new and fashionable styles being advocated. The house was designed in the Gothic Revival style that had become fashionable several decades earlier, and the garden still included elements of an Italianate garden. The garden was even reminiscent of the descriptions and illustrations of a 'Third-Rate Garden' by John Loudon, written five decades earlier. However, it would appear that the greatest influence on the garden was probably the terrain, which, being very uneven, dictated much of the landscaping. This included the terraces around the house to accommodate sitting areas, and curving paths necessary to lead down from one level to the next. An area would also have been levelled for the tennis lawn, an essential recreational facility.

Owing to a lack of evidence, it is uncertain how much Mawson contributed to the garden, but a number of the elements of the conifer plantings do indicate a style reminiscent of those he recommended. These include groupings of various conifer species that displayed different morphological characteristics. In addition, shrubberies, made fashionable by Shirley Hibberd in the 1850s, were also included, with conifers being mixed in with large-growing shrubs such as rhododendrons. There are hints that the remainder of Bowns Wood may have included tree plantings, but there is no evidence, documentary or from fieldwork, to indicate that a woodland garden was created in a manner advocated by William Robinson.

Whilst the legacy of the Victorian conifer planting at Langdale Chase has been severely depleted, particularly by the recent clearance from the garden of many mature trees and shrubs, this has perhaps returned the garden to how it first looked when it was created in the 1890s, with open, unhindered views of the lake, and no new conifer plantings (Figure 11.1.10).⁶²⁷

⁶²⁶ In a tree survey, undertaken around 2015, the number of trees condemned and recommended for felling because of being diseased was nineteen.

⁶²⁷ The property was bought by the company Daniel Thwaites PLC in 2017, after which a redevelopment of the garden commenced in the spring of 2018.

Unlike the original garden, there are no mature deciduous trees present from Bowns Wood. The extent of this clearance is evident when a comparison is made between a photograph taken in 2018 and one taken in the summer of 2016 (Figures 11.I.10 & 11.I.11).



Figure 11.I.10 In the spring of 2018, clearance work was undertaken in the garden by Will Hicks, Tree Surgeons, which returned the house to having a much more open aspect, the only remaining original plantings being the two mature *Fagus sylvatica* 'Purpurea' — copper beech and a smaller *Quercus robur* — pedunculate oak.



Figure 11.I.11 The garden prior to redevelopment (2016) — with mature rhododendrons and a number of *Chamaecyparis pisifera* 'Plumosa' — Sawara cypress 'Plumosa' (on the right). Such dense growth would not have been present prior to 1914.

Case Study II — Fallbarrow Hall

11.II.1. Introduction

This case study examines the garden and parkland of Fallbarrow Hall, created around the 1870s, almost two decades earlier than Langdale Chase. This includes discovering when and by whom the property was built and the garden and parkland created. This case study was chosen because of the presence of the parkland, which was, and still is, unique for Bowness. The planting of conifers in such a setting, as opposed to a garden situation, is analysed to evaluate which species were planted and in what manner, and who may have influenced the style of planting. As no written archival material was available regarding the history of Fallbarrow (house, garden, parkland, or conifer plantings), the following alternative sources were used: contemporary and early photographs in conjunction with Ordnance Survey maps, and extensive fieldwork. From these, it has been possible to make an assessment of the design of the garden and parkland, together with which species of conifer were planted and the manner of their planting.

11.II.2. The property

Fallbarrow Hall is situated on the northern outskirts of Bowness, and, as in the past, the property is bordered by Fallbarrow Road on the east, Lake Windermere to the south-west, west, and north-west, and Old Fallbarrow and the town of Bowness to the south-east. The only change is that on the northerly boundary, rather than there being farmland, the area is now part of Fallbarrow Holiday Park. The land rises to 45 m at its highest point, with the hall being constructed on an elevated position to take advantage of the views across Lake Windermere. The hall was designed in the fashionable Gothic Revival style, probably by the architect Joseph Stretch Crowther who was a proponent of this style and who designed similar properties in the area.⁶²⁸ At the time when Fallbarrow Hall was built, Bowness was far less developed than it is today, with the area to the north of the town still retaining a good coverage of trees. The area that was once the garden and parkland of Fallbarrow Hall is now a holiday park owned by Parkdean Resorts, with the hall being tenanted by Dove Nest Group, a business management

⁶²⁸ Including Wynlass Beck, Cook's Corner.

training company.

One of the earliest depictions of the land, where Fallbarrow Hall was built, shows it was a hill and was probably used for grazing livestock (Figure 11.II.1). Owing to the close proximity of a

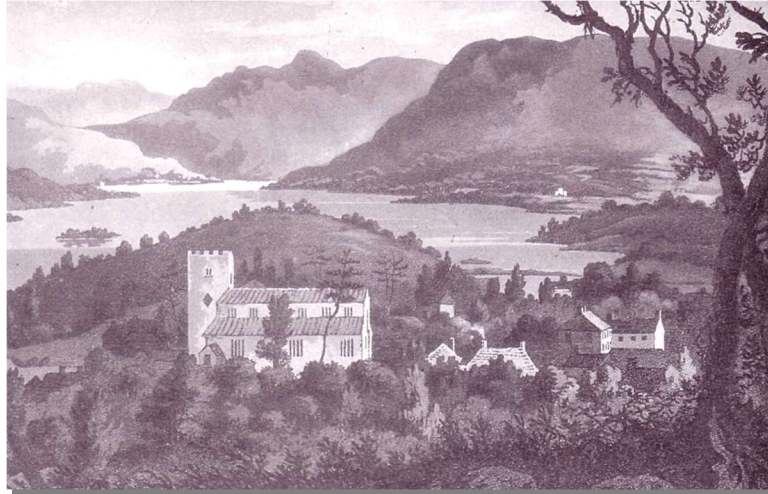


Figure 11.II.1 Bowness by R. Ackerman (1799), depicting the (exaggerated) hill upon which Fallbarrow Hall was built. Three conifers are clearly present: one in front and two behind the church.⁶²⁹

farmhouse, known as Old Fallbarrow, it seems likely that this hill was the farmland belonging to this property. The farmhouse is depicted on the first Ordnance Survey map of the area whilst Fallbarrow Hall was not present, as it had yet to be built (Figure 11.II.2).⁶³⁰



Figure 11.II.2 Ordnance Survey Map c. 1860 (contoured edition). (Old) Fallbarrow is present, but the new hall had yet to be built. The area with regularly planted trees regularly indicates orchards.

⁶²⁹ An engraving of a watercolour of a similar view by Joseph Farington (1815) and with a less pronounced hill also depicts these conifers.

⁶³⁰ Old Fallbarrow is Grade II listed: List Entry Number 1281736, Landranger Map: Kendal & Morecambe, reference SD401970. The property is thought to be a sixteenth-century farmhouse, which was altered in the eighteenth century. But unlike Storrs Park, Rayrigg, or Calgarth, this property was not considered of sufficient merit to be mentioned in any of the guidebooks of the time such as Thomas West's or William Wordsworth's.

However, by 1897 the new hall had been constructed, probably around the mid-1870s, and is present on the OS map of 1897 (Figure 11.II.3, delineated in red).⁶³¹

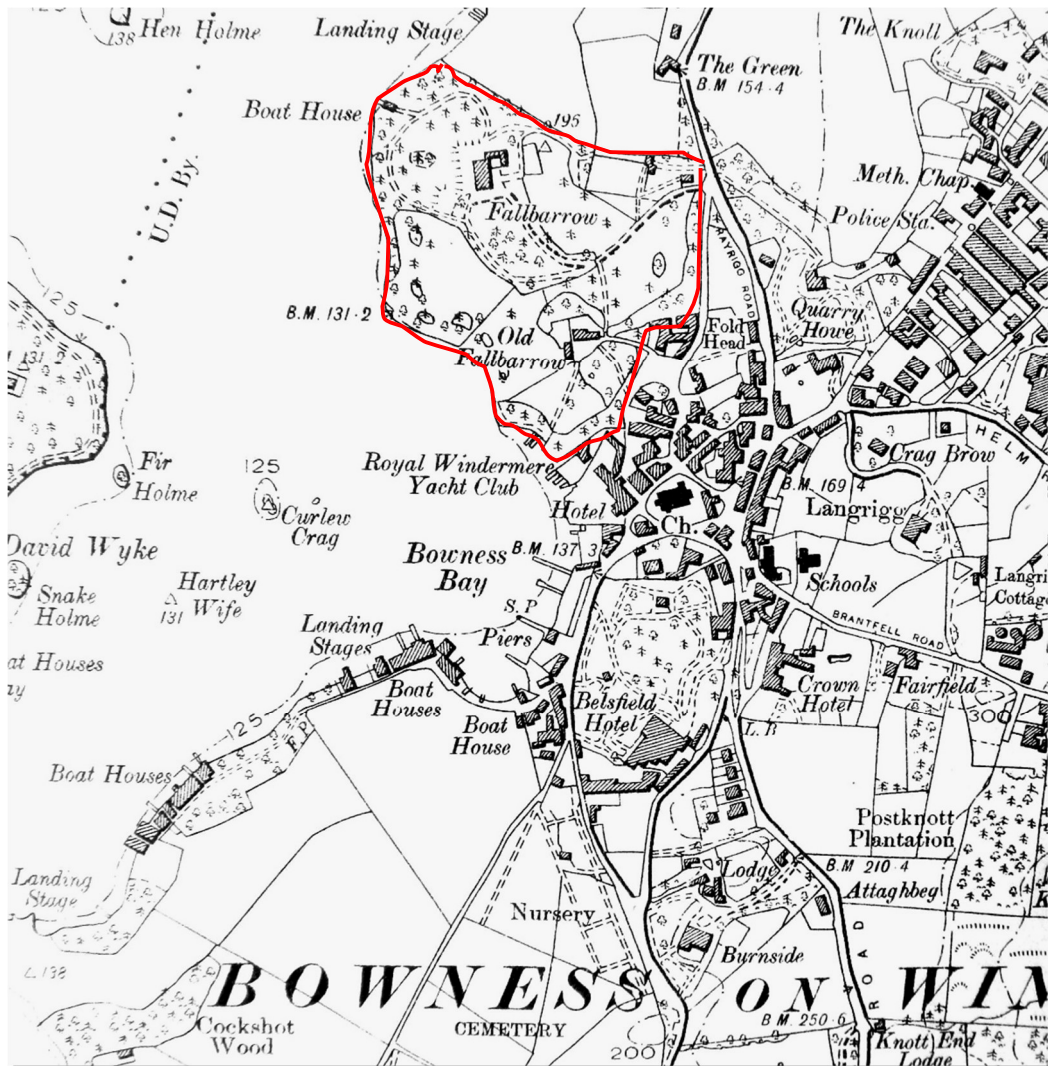


Figure 11.II.3 Ordnance Survey Map 1897. By this time, the new Fallbarrow Hall had been constructed, and the farmland utilized as a garden and parkland in which numerous conifers are depicted, but the orchards have gone. Amongst the buildings, hotels are now evident, including Belsfield, which was converted from a private residence.

Although there is no documentary evidence, there are indications, such as the connecting track between the two properties and the similar plantings of conifers in and around the two areas, that the farmhouse and land were sold and remained together under their new ownership. Old Fallbarrow was undoubtedly bought because of its exceptional location, but, as seems probable, if it was bought by a wealthy 'offcomer', the farmhouse would not be considered

⁶³¹ Fallbarrow Hall is Grade II listed: List Entry Number 1124685. The entry only has a limited description, describing the property as a 'Large Victorian Gothic mansion, [with] local slate and sandstone dressing'. As is normal, no description of the garden or parkland is included. The lodge is also Grade II listed under Entry Number 1124687.

sufficiently prestigious or fashionable by such a person (Figure 11.II.4).⁶³² This necessitated the building of a new hall, with Old Fallbarrow perhaps being used as accommodation for the hall's staff or for the home of the head gardener (Figure 11.II.5).



**Figure 11.II.4 Bowness-on-Windermere, from Furness Fell (1887),
©'The Francis Frith Collection'.
Fallbarrow Hall (marked X) was built in an exceptional location. At this time, very
little development had occurred to the south and to the north of Bowness.
Conifers are evident in the foreground and on Belle Isles, and a
plantation is on the fellside above and to the right of Bowness.**



**Figure 11.II.5 Old Fallbarrow Hall may have been the home of the head gardener
after the new hall had been built. Today, it is not part of Parkdean's holiday park (2017).**

⁶³² The 1881 census reveals that a German merchant Daniel Wichelhaus was living in the property with his wife, three daughters, five sons, and four servants. But it is not known whether this gentleman had the property built or was the first occupant of Fallbarrow Hall.

11.II.3. The conifer plantings in the garden and parkland

The earliest indication of the type of tree cover in the area where Fallbarrow Hall was built comes from two sources, early illustrations⁶³³ and more specifically photographs. From these, it is apparent that deciduous broad-leaved trees were dominant, with conifers not yet making a noticeable impact (Figures 11.II.6 & 11.II.7). In a photograph taken in 1887, the garden appears



**Figure 11.II.6 View north over Lake Windermere from Belsfield (1896),
©'The Francis Frith Collection'.**

The parkland of Fallbarrow Hall (on the right — middle distance) is shown with no conifers being visible — only the domed crowns of deciduous trees are present.



Figure 11.II.7 The Pier (1887), ©'The Francis Frith Collection'.
The trees in the parkland of Fallbarrow Hall are in the background.

⁶³³ Such as the Ackerman and Farington engravings.

to have been far more extensive than is apparent on the ground today (Figure 11.II.8), and when viewed in conjunction with the Ordnance Survey map of 1897 (Figure 11.II.9), the following information regarding conifers can be extrapolated: they were planted throughout the



Figure 11.II.8 View from the Summit behind Bowness (1887) (detail) ©'The Francis Frith Collection'.
This gives a clear indication not only of the garden and parkland of Fallbarrow Hall but also of the presence of numerous conifers — indicated by their conical shape.

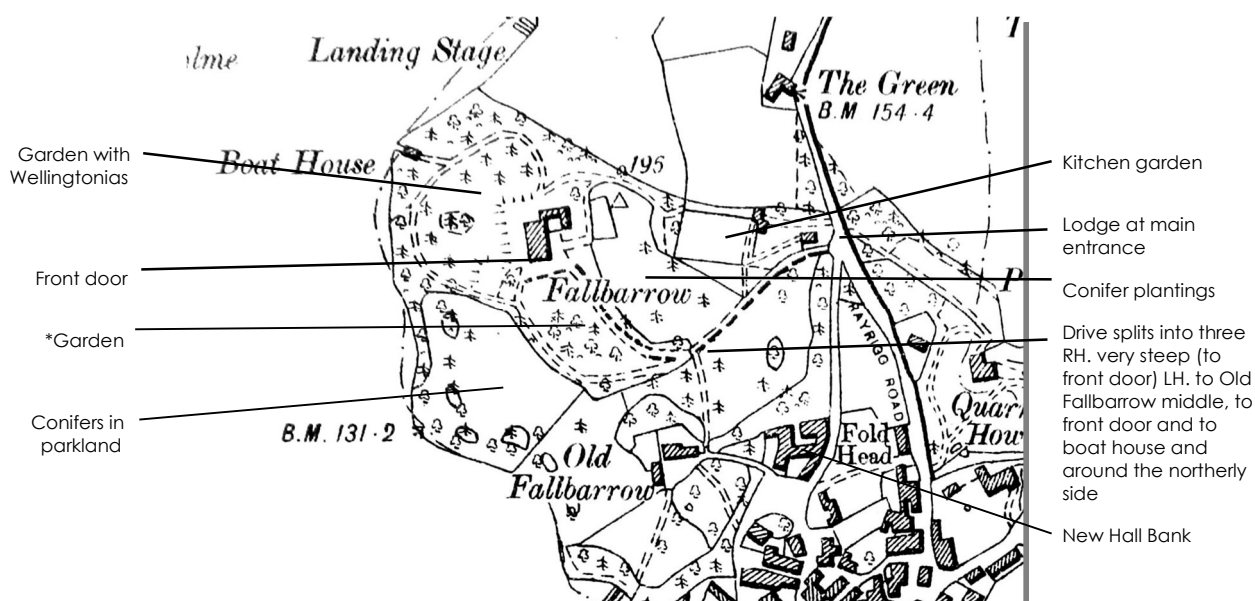


Figure 11.II.9 Ordnance Survey Map (1897) 2nd edn (1899) (detail).
By this time, the orchards of Old Fallbarrow are no longer present.

parkland area and extensively within and around a rectangular area to the south-east of the hall. They were also planted along the drives (there were two) and in circular beds in the area adjacent to the lake. It is also clear that the plantings were numerous, with at least twenty being clearly depicted in the photograph, and with others probably being present but not discernible. By this time, the orchards depicted in the earlier map are no longer present, having been replaced by parkland. None of the areas shown in this photograph, and indicated on the map, is evident on the ground today, owing to the presence of numerous static caravans and log cabins (Figures 11.II.10 & 11.II.11). In some areas of the parkland, these are placed extremely



Figure 11.II.10 Parkdean Resorts: Fallbarrow Holiday Park (spring 2018).
Static caravans and log cabins occupy the area of Fallbarrow Hall's original garden and parkland.



Figure 11.II.11 Parkdean Resorts' map of Fallbarrow Holiday Park (2018) (detail).
This shows the extent and number of static caravans and log cabins, and their close proximity to one another.

close to one another, which, combined with service roads and the levelling of the ground, has severely compromised the design of the original garden and parkland. The only features that remain of the original garden design and that are depicted on the Ordnance Survey map (1897) are the terraces to the west of the hall and the round bed (Figure 11.II.12). The former



**Figure 11.II.12 The west-facing side of Fallbarrow Hall (spring 2018).
The land on this side naturally slopes down to Lake Windermere, so two terraces were created to give level areas beside the hall. More recent landscaping (mound on the right) was undertaken to give privacy between the occupants of the log cabins and the tenants of the hall. The round bed indicated on the Ordnance Survey map 1897 is still present (on the left).**

would have been created for practical reasons, including giving somewhere level to walk and sit, and from where the views over Lake Windermere could be enjoyed. More recently, landscaping has occurred on the southerly boundary of the garden to give privacy to the occupants of the log cabins and the tenants of the hall. In addition, log cabins have been constructed for the first time within the curtilage of the hall's front garden (Figure 11.II.13). These



Figure 11.II.13 Recently constructed log cabins in the garden area to the west of the hall. The cabins have compromised the original design of this area but now also obscure the full growth habit of many of the Wellingtonias, particularly when these are viewed from the hall (2018).

have compromised the original design of this area but now also obscure the full extent of the growth habit of the Wellingtonias, particularly when these are viewed from the hall. By 1955, as indicated in a photograph of around that time, the presence of conifers was particularly noticeable, with their conical crowns piercing the skyline (Figure 11.II.14). Many of these are still present today, but the activities of Fallbarrow Holiday Park have undoubtedly had, and continue to have, an impact on their numbers, primarily for health and safety reasons and commercial considerations (Figure 11.II.15).

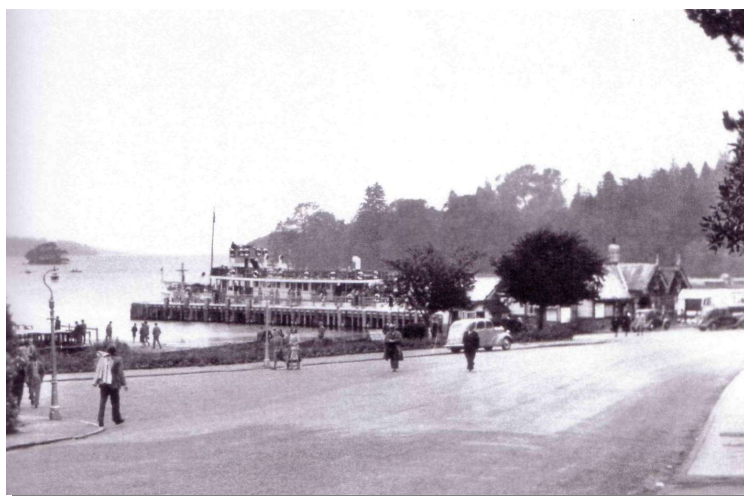


Figure 11.II.14 Bowness-on-Windermere 'The Steamer Pier and the Promenade c. 1955'.⁶³⁴
 ©'The Francis Frith Collection'

Conifers with their conical crowns now very much in evidence, with Fallbarrow Holiday Park yet to be created.



Figure 11.II.15 Fallbarrow Holiday Park from the Promenade (2015).
Conifers are still much in evidence, but now fewer in numbers and combined with log cabins (left).

⁶³⁴ Norman A. Buckley, *The Francis Frith Collection, Around Windermere, Photographic Memories* (Dinton: 2003), p. 45.

11.II.4. Extant conifer plantings from the Victorian era

Despite all the developments that have occurred to accommodate a holiday park, there are still a number of extant conifers dating from around the time the hall was built. These are present in five distinct areas: on the east periphery of the park,⁶³⁵ at the park entrance beside the lodge, around the reception area of the holiday park, in the area of parkland bordering the drives, and in the garden area to the west of the hall.⁶³⁶ In the first of these areas, the east periphery, the conifers that are present are most clearly seen from the public car park on Rayrigg Road (Figure 11.II.16).⁶³⁷ They include *Larix decidua* — European larch, *Pinus sylvestris* — Scots pine, *Pinus*



Figure 11.II.16 View of the easterly boundary of Fallbarrow Hall from the public car park on Rayrigg Road (2018).

A mixture of conifer species is present, which include (from left to right): *Pinus nigra* ssp. *Laricio* — Corsican pine, *Sequoia sempervirens* — Coast(al) Redwood, *Cedrus deodara* — Deodar and *Pinus sylvestris* — Scots Pine. The crowns of these trees display different morphological characteristics.

nigra ssp. *laricio* — Corsican pine and *Sequoia sempervirens* — coast(al) redwood. The pine and larch are species that were typically used at this time for boundary planting and were

⁶³⁵ Marked W6 on the Lake District National Park Authority's TPO map (2010). This map needs updating, owing to changes in the tree cover.

⁶³⁶ See Case Studies' Appendices: Appendix II, List of extant conifers.

frequently planted, as here, with an understorey of other evergreen plants such as *Ilex aquifolium* — holly and *Prunus laurocerasus* — laurel. The growth habit of these conifers is noticeably very different, with the rounded more uniform crowns of the Corsican pine and coast redwood contrasting with the irregularly shaped crown of the Scots pine and conical crown of *Cedrus deodara* — deodar. At the main entrance (both now and in the past) where the lodge is situated, there is a mix of evergreen and deciduous trees and shrubs. These include *Taxus baccata* — yew, *Thuja plicata* — western red-cedar, *Fagus sylvatica* — beech, *Quercus petraea* — sessile oak, rhododendrons, and holly. The oak that is present is a particularly large, mature specimen and is one of only a few of the original trees in existence before Fallbarrow Hall garden and parkland were created.

From the main entrance to around the reception area, there is so much holiday resort paraphernalia — car parks, reception building, café, shop, lavatories, and numerous waste bins — that very little can be discerned of the original parkland and how it must have looked. Near the reception building, two *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* now find themselves marooned in a sea of tarmac and cars, and two other trees, *Cedrus atlantica* 'Glauca' and *Sequoiadendron giganteum*, which are particularly prominent (Figure 11.II.17). Both of these are dying, with their demise possibly being due to the hard landscaping around them, creating unfavourable growing conditions. On the hillside, adjacent to the reception area, there is a backdrop of



Figure 11.II.17 *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* — Lawson Cypress (2018).
Today this tree is situated in the reception area of the holiday park.
Trees such as this are now in an incongruous setting and one that is far removed from their original surroundings of open parkland.

conifers, predominantly European larch, but their presence is diminished by a cluster of static caravans (Figure 11.II.18). Following the driveway into what was once the open parkland, the



Figure 11.II.18 *Larix decidua* — European larch, on the hillside beside the reception area. The static caravans diminish the presence of these trees by keeping the area of vision down rather than upwards.

presence of a group of three mature *C. atlantica* 'Glauca' becomes apparent. Groups of trees, such as these cedars, would have been particularly noticeable in the original open parkland but today are obscured by log cabins and hedgerows (Figure 11.II.19). Other conifers,



Figure 11.II.19 This *Cedrus atlantica* 'Glauca' would have originally been planted in open parkland but is now surrounded by the features of the Holiday Park: log cabins, service roads, and hedgerows.

such as *Thuja plicata*, *Picea abies*, and a group of *Sequoia sempervirens* — the latter being behind log cabin 'Redwood 3' — are similarly obscured. The problems caused by trees that now find themselves amidst a development are also evident in a number of places and include the tarmac of a service road being lifted by the roots of a *Sequoia sempervirens* next to cabin RW5.

In the area of the holiday park known as 'Lakeside'⁶³⁸ (formerly the open parkland area beside the lake), evidence of the original tree cover is present. This includes two large stumps of *Fraxinus excelsior* — ash, which from rings indicates that the largest of the two was approximately 250 years old when it was felled. In comparison with the early photograph, which depict numerous large broad-leaved trees, there are no substantial specimens of these trees in this area today. The extant conifers that date from the time when the hall was constructed are *Picea sitchensis* — Sitka spruce⁶³⁹ and an *Abies* species.⁶⁴⁰

In the front garden and to the rear of the hall, there are an exceptional number, eight, of large and imposing *Sequoiadendron giganteum* — Wellingtonia.⁶⁴¹ Their presence indicates their fashionable status at this time and perhaps combined with an interest the first owner of Fallbarrow Hall may have had for these trees. Although there are no other conifer species in the garden today, it is likely others were present in the past but which have subsequently died. On the northerly side of the hall, as was a common feature in other gardens of the time, is the planting combination of *Sequoiadendron giganteum* and *Fagus sylvatica* 'Purpurea' — copper beech.

Although numerous conifers in the ground of the holiday park today have tree preservation orders, these are obviously of no consequence where a tree is deemed unsafe.⁶⁴² Nor do they seem to protect trees from being used as supports for aërials, and other extraneous objects (Figure 11.II.20). In addition, when sites were chosen for static caravans and log cabins, little attempt appears to have been made to give sufficient space around existing trees (Figure 11.II.21).

⁶³⁸ Today, the area beside Lake Windermere is for the more prestigious log cabins.

⁶³⁹ A species more closely associated today as a forestry tree rather than one used for ornamental planting.

⁶⁴⁰ Not positively identified owing to difficulties in obtaining a foliage or cone specimen. Cones are rarely found on the ground for *Abies* species, as they invariably (unlike those of *Picea* species) break up on the tree.

⁶⁴¹ The morphological characteristics of this species and the recommendations for its use are discussed in Section 3.1.5.

⁶⁴² Eighty-six in 2010: see Tree Preservation No: 335, Lake District National Park Authority.



Figure 11.II.20 *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* — Lawson's cypress.
Little room to spare between this tree and Log Cabin No. G4.



Figure 11.II.21 Conifers are being used as supports for various objects.

11.II.5. Conclusion

Fallbarrow Hall was unique in Bowness for not only having a garden but also having parkland in which an exceptional number of conifers were present — with those extant today probably representing only a fraction of what was once in the area. It was also unusual for the complete absence of exotic deciduous broad-leaved trees. From this, it may be deduced that the original owner of Fallbarrow Hall had a particular preference for conifers, particularly Wellingtonias and cedars. However, as there is only a limited number of different extant species, of either the same or different genera, it does not appear that it was the intention of the owner

to create a pinetum, as this would normally contain many different, rare, or unusual species, and there is no evidence for this today. There is also no information to suggest that a woodland garden was created with an understorey of shrubs and herbaceous plantings, as advocated by Robinson. It would appear, therefore, that it was the intention of the owner to create parkland in which his (or his gardener's) favourite conifers could be planted.⁶⁴³ Today, the diversity of species growing in the garden and parkland is quite limited, with those most commonly present being *Sequoiadendron giganteum* — Wellingtonia, *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* — Lawson cypress, *Thuja plicata* — western red cedar, and *Cedrus atlantica* 'Glauca' — blue Atlas cedar.⁶⁴⁴ It would however seem unlikely that this is a true representation of the species that were once present in the garden.

From field observations, it would appear that the manner in which species were planted was either as single specimens or in groups, with Lawson cypress being an example of the former and blue atlas cedar and *Sequoia sempervirens* — coast(al) redwood, being examples of the latter. As the first edition of Veitch's *Manual* was not published until 1881, this may not have been of influence on the conifers planted or the manner of their planting. Nor is it likely that Loudon's recommendation for the planting of trees in the parkland of a 'First Rate Garden' in his *Suburban Gardener* was followed, as this was some thirty years earlier.⁶⁴⁵ Perhaps the most likely influence was other head gardeners, articles in journals, or other publications such as William Baron's *British Winter Gardens* (1852), but this cannot be stated with any certainty.

As a consequence of the holiday park, it is also no longer possible to appreciate the conifers as they were originally envisaged, that is in a garden or an open parkland setting. Nor can their growth habit or manner of their planting — whether as a single specimen or in a group — be seen to be advantageous because most of the short- and long-distance views are blocked by static caravans and log cabins. In addition, and just as elsewhere in Bowness, the number of conifers is diminishing, with several clearly dying and others reaching a size and age

⁶⁴³ The concept of parkland originated from medieval hunting grounds and later came to typify any enclosed piece of land 'planned for visual enjoyment, naturalistic in appearance, [with a] careful location of trees, which developed from the eighteenth century and the landscape of Lancelot Brown. Michael Symes, *A Glossary of Garden History* (Princes Risborough: 1993), p. 90.

⁶⁴⁴ Very few *Abies* species, and no: *Araucaria*, *Cupressus*, *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* cultivars, or *C. pisifera* cultivars.

⁶⁴⁵ Loudon, *Suburban Gardener* (1838), pp. 622–674.

that raise health and safety issues. As the holiday park is a business enterprise, commercial considerations also appear to outweigh those concerned with aesthetics (even to the extent that no attempt is made to screen the substantial waste bins (Figure 11.II.22)), or heritage. As a consequence, the design of the original garden and parkland has been seriously compromised, In addition, and despite TPOs, the existence and health of the majority of the extant conifers



Figure 11.II.22 An advertisement by Parkdean Resorts at Fallbarrow Holiday Park. Aesthetic or heritage considerations do not appear to be a high priority in this park, even to the placing of this advertisement, for the 'Prestigious' development in the park (main entrance, 2018).

are being severely challenged. It is also apparent that very little attempt has been made to make a feature of the conifers, and rather than their being considered an asset, they appear to have been a hindrance to the construction of static caravans and log cabins.⁶⁴⁶ Although there have been more recent plantings of conifers, these are primarily of smaller-growing more modern cultivars and so are not replacing on a like-for-like basis those that are being lost.⁶⁴⁷

The conifer collection at Fallbarrow Hall was once considered to be of sufficient merit to warrant being included in the 'List of Notable Trees' in Alan Mitchell's and John Wilkinson's *Trees of Britain and Northern Europe* (1982), but with the exception of several *Sequoiadendron*, it is very doubtful that the conifers of Fallbarrow Hall would be included in such a list today.⁶⁴⁸

⁶⁴⁶ There are many examples of decking having been constructed around trunks, and log cabins erected in very close proximity to existing trees.

⁶⁴⁷ A notable exception is several *Pseudotsuga menziesii* — Douglas fir, which have been planted in the Lakeside area.

⁶⁴⁸ Alan Mitchell and John Wilkinson, *Trees of Britain and Northern Europe*, 2nd edn (London: 1988), p. 278.

Case Study III — The Storrs Estate and the gardens of Lindeth Howe and Lindeth Fell

11.III.1. Introduction

The Storrs Estate⁶⁴⁹ was selected as a case study because of the many properties that were constructed on this estate after the 1900s, several decades after Langdale Chase and Fallbarrow Hall. This enabled a comparison to be made between the garden styles and conifer plantings of the two different periods. This case study therefore examines: firstly, the designs of the new gardens and their conifer plantings; secondly, how these compared to those that were considered fashionable and being advocated in the rest of the country; and thirdly, whether the style for gardens was influenced by the Arts and Crafts Movement, particularly those attached to houses considered to be Arts and Crafts (Figure 11.III.1). To enable these new gardens to be put into an historical context, the development of the Storrs estate is examined briefly from the eighteenth century, and in more detail in relation to two properties, Lindeth Howe and Lindeth Fell, after the estate was sold in 1890.



Figure 11.III.1 'Broadleys Windermere for A Currer Briggs Esq', designed by C.F.H. Voysey, in an Arts and Crafts style. This house was built on the Storrs estate after that estate was sold in 1890.

11.III.2. The Storrs Estate

The area that was once part of the original Storrs estate is situated today between the A592 to the west, just beyond the A5074 to the east, the B5284 to the north, and the B5360 to the south (partially delineated in green on the 2011 Ordnance Survey map, which is an approximation, as

⁶⁴⁹ A large proportion of which is known today as 'Storrs Park'.

the full extent of the estate to the south and east is uncertain) (Figure 11.III.2). Prior to the county boundary changes in 1974, the estate straddled Westmorland and Lancashire, but since this date, all the area that once comprised the original estate is in the county of Cumbria and is situated approximately one mile to the south of Bowness.



Figure 11.III.2 © Ordnance Survey — Landranger Map 97 — Kendal & Morecambe. Revised 1997 and revised for selected change 2011 (detail).

What was once part of the Storrs estate is delineated in green.

A comparison of this map with the first Ordnance Survey map of 1858 (and revised editions) shows many changes, most notably the amount of housing development and the addition of the A592, which passes through the once-extensive estate of Storrs Hall.

The earliest maps of the area, such as Christopher Saxton's of 1576, do not depict the area of Storrs, but by 1770 it was included on a map of that date by Thomas Jeffery.⁶⁵⁰ It was also depicted on the maps that were incorporated into the numerous guidebooks that were produced from this time, including the later editions of Thomas West's *Guide to the Lakes* (1778),

⁶⁵⁰ 'The County of Westmorland, Surveyed Anno MDCCLXVIII and Engraved by Thomas Jeffery, Cartographer to His Majesty MDCCLXX'.

Wordsworth's *Guide* (1835), and Nelson's *Handbook for Tourists, the English Lakes* (1859).

However, it was not until the first Ordnance Survey map was produced in 1858 that any details of the hall, its estate, and the surrounding area were evident (Figures 11.III.3 & 11.III.4).⁶⁵¹

No A592, with the only road to Newby Bridge being this road (later named the A5074)



Lodge at the entrance to the carriageway south to Storrs Hall

Figure 11.III.3 Ordnance Survey Map 1st Edition 1858 (with contours 1860) (detail).

The lane (now known as Middle Entrance Drive) past Storrs Tenements gave access to the Lodge (marked X) from the top road. The small lane opposite the Lodge gave access north, beside Longtail Wood, onto the main road to the ferry and Bowness.

⁶⁵¹ With a revised edn (1897) and 2nd edn (1899), plus contoured and coloured versions. All the OS maps referred to here are held at CASK.

A5074 to Newby Bridge with a right turn at Blackwell
onto the road subsequently numbered B5360



The blank area is part of Lancashire

Figure 11.III.4 Ordnance Survey Map 1st edition 1858 (with contours 1860) (detail)
(separate map from the previous map but with a continuation south).

In relation to the Storr's Estate, the following are marked on these maps: Storr's Hall, landscaped garden, parkland and kitchen garden, access roads through the estate, Low House (later referred to as Holme Farm and then renamed Meadowcroft Cottages when a new property known as Meadowcroft was built in 1908), lodge at the entrance of the main driveway to the Hall, and Storr's Tenements (or The Yews, the latter being the name it was referred to after c. 1900). The A592 had yet to be constructed, and there was no development along the shore of Lake Windermere or between Longtail Wood and the Storr's Tenements. By 1913, as is evident

11.III.3. The history of Storrs Hall and the planting of conifers within the garden and parkland

In 1901, Mawson commented that a site for which he had designed a garden was once: 'part of the famous and historical estate of Storrs which in its glory comprised a classic mansion and park, about 700 acres in extent, and noble timber trees, and beech and other avenues to match'.⁶⁵² This was because, at this time, the estate had been sold, with the majority of the land having been purchased by a local family firm of builders, Pattinsons, under the direction of George Henry Pattinson.⁶⁵³ Pattinsons then divided the land into various plots upon which they built or intended to build a house.

As Mawson had noted, Storrs had been an historic estate, with the name having been established in Norman times and the land being owned, together with the fishing rights to Lake Windermere,⁶⁵⁴ by the monks of Furness Abbey throughout most of the medieval period.⁶⁵⁵ It is not known, however, who secured the ownership of the land after the dissolution of this Abbey in 1537,⁶⁵⁶ and the earliest record of a property being built was not until the 1790s when Sir John Legard, sixth baronet of Ganton in Yorkshire (c. 1758–1808), purchased the land. Being a noted sailor, Sir John also constructed the 'Temple of Heroes' at the end of a causeway onto Lake Windermere. He built this in honour of the Admirals Howe, Nelson, St. Vincent, and Duncan to commemorate their victories during the Napoleonic Wars. In 1804, owing to ill health, Sir John sold the estate to David Pike Watts, uncle of the painter John Constable,⁶⁵⁷ who, only after a very short period of ownership, sold the property to John Bolton (1756–1837) in 1806.⁶⁵⁸ The property had been advertised as: 'A capital mansion and Estate, well worthy of the attention of

⁶⁵² Thomas Mawson, *The Art and Craft of Garden Making*, 2nd edn (1901), p. 201.

⁶⁵³ The family name is Pattinson, but the building firm is referred to as Pattinsons.

⁶⁵⁴ The use of the name 'Lake Windermere' is incorrect, as this body of water should only be called 'Windermere' (previously also known as Winander). However, to avoid confusion with the town of Windermere, this lake has subsequently always been referred to as Lake Windermere, as it is here.

⁶⁵⁵ For information on this period, see Norman McCord and Richard Thompson, *The Northern Counties from AD 1000. A Regional History of England* (London & New York: 1998), pp. 74–75. Furness Abbey and its lands for example were not immune to raids by the Scots.

⁶⁵⁶ A concise history of the Storrs Estate appears under Historic England's List entry for Storrs Hall: Number 1332564, which also includes a bibliography relating to the estate.

⁶⁵⁷ When Constable visited the Lake District in 1806, Pike had already sold the property, so Constable was not able to stay at the Hall but instead stayed in one of the cottages in the grounds. There are no known paintings or sketches by him of the hall or estate of Storrs Hall. See Ian Thompson, *The English Lakes. A History* (2010), pp. 128–30.

⁶⁵⁸ For details of Bolton's life, see Godfrey W. Mathews, 'John Bolton, a Liverpool Merchant 1756–1837' *Transactions of the History Society of Lancashire and Cheshire*, XCIII (1941), pp. 98–115; and C. Jones, *John Bolton of Storrs 1756–1837* (1959).

any gentleman who wishes to possess one of the most desirable small properties in the kingdom'.

Bolton, who was born in Ulverston, had become a rich Liverpool merchant and 'was able to purchase Storrs Hall from making money from dealing in not only rum and cotton but also slaves'.⁶⁵⁹ Bolton expended a considerable fortune on Storrs Hall rebuilding and extending the property to designs by Joseph Michael Gandy (1771–1843).⁶⁶⁰ The hall then became the centre of social occasions such as county balls and regattas on Lake Windermere. Prominent intellectuals and politicians also frequented the Hall and included William Wordsworth, George Canning, and Sir Walter Scott. One visitor described his experience in very fulsome terms: 'The weather was as Elysian as the scenery; there were brilliant cavalcades through the woods in the mornings, and delicious boatings on the Lake by moonlight'.⁶⁶¹

Undoubtedly, the estate was greatly improved under the ownership of Bolton. This is confirmed by the comments made by the author Thomas Rose two years before Bolton's death:

Storrs Hall, the magnificent residence of Colonel Bolton, stands on a promontory of Windermere Lake, in the midst of ornamental groves. At the farthest point of land is a small naval temple, erected by the former proprietor of the mansion, Sir John Legard, Bart., [...] The Hall was partly built by Sir John Legard, but was finished by Colonel Bolton; and all the pleasing adjuncts to this delightful residence were planned and executed by the latter gentleman.⁶⁶²

As Rose noted there were ornamental groves by 1839 and it was during the ownership of the hall by Bolton that the grounds were landscaped. Although it is not known who designed the landscape gardens, it is possible they would have been similar to those created by Lancelot Brown who prepared plans for Lowther Park, in 1763 and c. 1771.⁶⁶³ Although very few conifers were planted for ornamental purposes in landscape gardens (*Cedrus libani* — cedar of Lebanon being the exception), particularly as the introduction of many new exotic species was

⁶⁵⁹ Thompson, *The English Lakes* (2010). 'For all that it has been represented as an Arcadia and site of rural innocence, the Lake District has some troubling associations with the slave trade'. p. 305.

⁶⁶⁰ Gandy has been described by Christopher Woodward as 'one of the greatest Romantic visionaries and architectural illustrators of his age' *The Guardian* 01.04.2006. p. 16. See also Brian Lukacher, *Joseph Gandy: An Architectural Visionary in Georgian England* (London: 2006).

⁶⁶¹ Grevel Lindop, *A Literary Guide to the Lake District*, 3rd edn (Ammanford: 2015), No reference given, p. 239.

⁶⁶² Thomas Rose, *Westmorland, Cumberland, Durham & Northumberland* (1832), p. 116.

⁶⁶³ The extent to which Brown's plans were carried out is uncertain. See Roger Turner, *Capability Brown and the Eighteenth-century English Landscape* (Chichester: 1985), pp. 181-182.

still several decades away, *Picea abies* — Norway spruce and *Pinus sylvestris* — Scots pine may have been planted in the woodland area at Storrs Hall to add variety of shape and colour, and on the periphery of the estate to act as windbreaks or screens. Whilst, the dominant tree cover was undoubtedly broad-leaved trees, as is evident today (Figure 11.III.7), in an engraving of Storrs Hall by Thomas Allom, there also appear to be darker trees with conical crowns to the left of the Hall (and in the middle distance), which are probably conifers (Figure 11.III.8). These may



Figure 11.III.7 Storrs Hall — showing the rear of the property from Lake Windermere (2016?).
The domed crowns of broad-leaved deciduous trees are much in evidence, an exception to this being the unmistakable crown of the *Sequoiadendron giganteum* — Wellingtonia. As this tree was not introduced into Britain until 1853, it was never a feature of eighteenth-century landscape gardens and would not have featured in Colonel Bolton's garden.

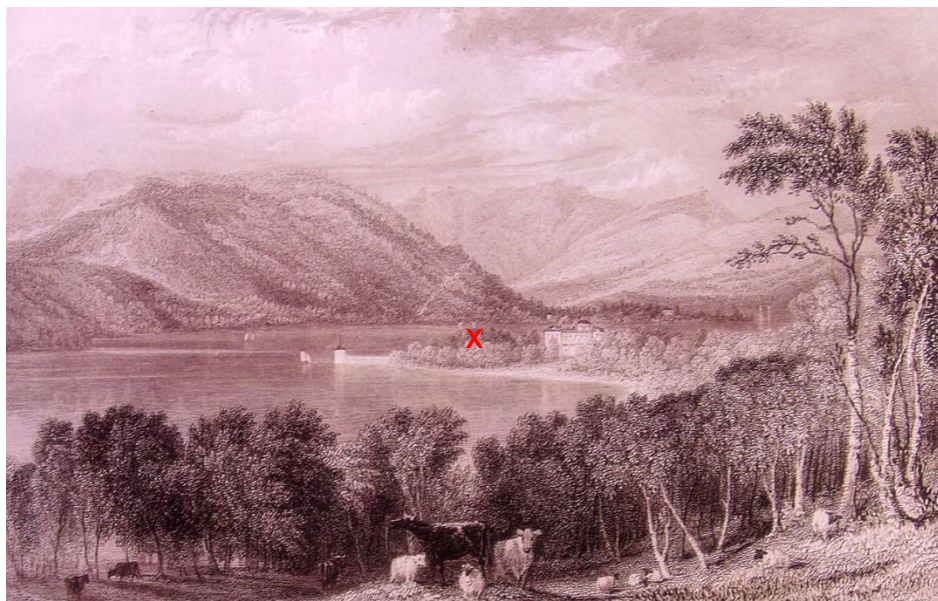


Figure 11.III.8 'Storrs Hall, Windermere Lake, Westmorland' engraving by Thomas Allom (1834). Predominantly broad-leaved trees but with the dark conical shape of conifers being evident to the left of the hall (marked X) and on the fellside beyond.

have been species that were of some of the earliest introductions such as *Picea abies* (thirteenth century), *Abies alba* — silver fir (1603), and *Larix decidua* — European larch (1620).⁶⁶⁴ However, as a consequence of Bolton knowing Wordsworth, he may have taken heed of the latter's disparaging opinion of this larch and not included it in any of his planting schemes. Certainly, during Bolton's lifetime, the following fashionable Victorian plantings, such as *Cedrus atlantica* (1841), *Thuja plicata* (1853), *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* (1854), and *Sequoiadendron giganteum* (1853), would not have been included, as they were all introduced into Britain after his death in 1837.

An indication of where conifers were planted during Bolton's ownership of Storrs can be gleaned from the Ordnance Survey map of 1858 (revised and coloured edition of 1860) (Figure 11.III.9). On this map, conifers are clearly marked and appear throughout the woodland areas surrounding the Hall, with a particularly noticeable grouping at the front of the hall. It is also noticeable that none has been marked in the open grassland of the park. The conifers depicted on the left of the hall may correspond to those appearing in Allom's engraving.

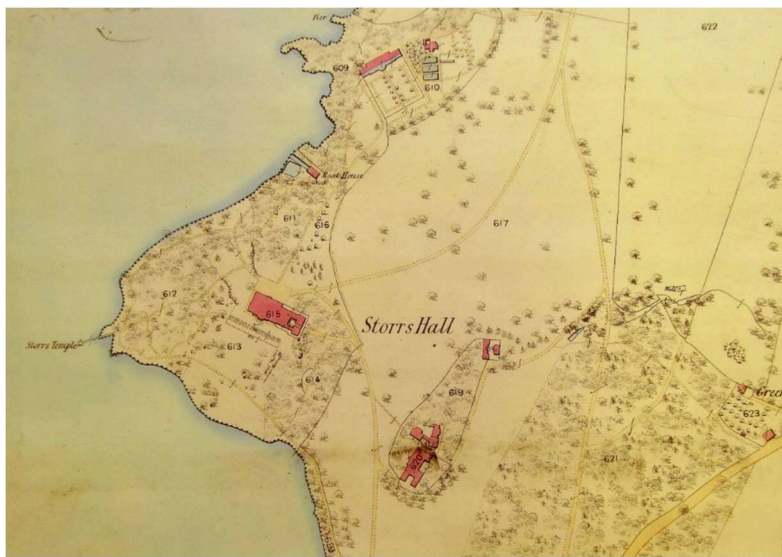


Figure 11.III.9 Ordnance Survey Map 1858 (coloured version 1860) Sheet XXXII. 7 (detail).

During the latter half of Bolton's ownership, landscape gardens became unfashionable and were being replaced by more formal gardens with the inclusion of many more flowering plants. At the same time, considerable numbers of conifers started to be introduced,

⁶⁶⁴ See Appendix I, Exotic Conifers: Dates of Introduction.

particularly in the middle decades of the Victorian era. However, on the 1858 map (1860 edition), it would appear that little had changed in the design of Storrs' garden, the design of which still remained that of a landscape garden (with a kitchen garden typically some distance away from the house). What is very evident is that conifers were planted throughout the woodland areas for ornamental purposes and that these corresponded to the description of the grove by Rose.

After Bolton's death, it is evident that a number of conifers that are present today must have been planted after his death. This is because either they had not yet been introduced into the country, or, from estimating their age today, they are not old enough. It is likely therefore that they were planted by Bolton's wife's nephew, the Reverend Thomas Staniforth, although there is no archival evidence to substantiate this. There is also no evidence for the garden having been altered in any substantial way such as having an Italianate design. It would appear, therefore, that perhaps with the exception of a number of coniferous plantings — those that are the largest today (evident in Figure 11.III.7) — and the sale of some land upon which Lindeth Howe was built that the garden and estate remained more or less unaltered until after the Reverend Staniforth's death in 1887. After this time, the greatest change occurred to Storrs Hall and its estate as a consequence of a complicated inheritance that resulted in the estate being put up for sale and auctioned off in various lots on 10 March 1890. After this, the Storrs estate was irretrievably broken up, with a large part of the land experiencing considerable development. This development occurred because the majority of the estate was purchased by the local builder George Pattinson (Pattinsons Builders) who divided the estate into plots upon which individual houses were built, including Lindeth Fell.⁶⁶⁵ Access roads also had to be constructed to all the new properties, which necessitated the building of the road from Bowness to Newby Bridge (today the A594).⁶⁶⁶ The new roads, and properties, also resulted in the lane to Bowness (known today as Meadow Lane), opposite the lodge, no longer being the main route from the estate into the town.

Once Pattinsons had built one of their homes — usually for a specific client rather than

⁶⁶⁵ George H. Pattinson, *Pattinsons: Builders, of Windermere 1573–1973* (Liverpool: 1973).

⁶⁶⁶ Pattinson (1973), p. 35. This was originally a private road with lodges being built at either end by Pattinsons.

speculatively — a garden was also designed and the hard landscaping constructed. But as Pattinsons were builders rather than garden designers, they probably did not have the requisite skill to undertake this task — although very occasionally, a skimpy garden design with a few named trees appeared on their architectural drawings.⁶⁶⁷ Instead, they, or the new owners of the property, would employ someone more experienced, such as Mawson,⁶⁶⁸ or someone from their own nursery.⁶⁶⁹

11.III.4. The garden design for the new houses

With regard to landscaping this was not always of primary importance if the property was a holiday home or weekend retreat. Recreational activities took precedence over flower beds and borders, as is evident in the garden of Blackwell, Bowness.⁶⁷⁰ This notable Arts and Crafts house, which, according to Ian MacDonald-Smith, was: 'one of the most significant houses of the turn of the twentieth century' was designed by Hugh Mackay Baillie Scott as a holiday home for Sir Edward Holt, a wealthy brewer from Manchester.⁶⁷¹ Whilst Baillie Scott wrote about the design of gardens, very seldom did he mention the type of plants that should be used, and he never mentioned conifers.⁶⁷² His lack of knowledge regarding plants may have been why Mawson was involved in the design of this garden, but as it accommodated two tennis lawns and very little else, such knowledge was probably not necessary.⁶⁷³ However, where a property was a permanent home, considerably more planting occurred, and therefore a greater knowledge of plants would have been required. This is evident in Mawson's brother's garden at Shrublands, Windermere, where the terracing, supporting walls and pergola are all depicted — with perhaps a certain amount of artistic licence — festooned with colourful plantings.⁶⁷⁴ The

⁶⁶⁷ CASK hold a collection of Pattinsons' architectural drawings, amidst which are a few plans of gardens with named trees. No individual references are given for these plans, which are collectively contained in the following boxes: WDB 133/2/106, 326, 40, 45, 48 (a further box, WDB 133/2/109, had contents too fragile to be viewed), 86/1/103, 86/4/44, 86/4/47, which includes a plan for a new drive at 'The Yews' for Sir Samuel Scott (c. 1902).

⁶⁶⁸ For a complete list of his commissions, see Janet Waymark, *Thomas Mawson: Life, Gardens and Landscapes* (London: 2009), pp. 231–35.

⁶⁶⁹ There is currently no evidence to indicate who this might have been. It was common practice at this time for nurserymen to be involved in the design of gardens and planting schemes, something of which Mawson did not approve.

⁶⁷⁰ The design of the garden of this property has been attributed to Mawson.

⁶⁷¹ For more information on this property, see Ian MacDonald-Smith, *Arts and Crafts Master: The Houses and Gardens of M. H. Baillie Scott* (New York: 2010), pp. 46–57.

⁶⁷² M.H. Baillie Scott, *Houses and Gardens: Arts and Crafts Interiors*, first published 1906, Facsimile edn (Aberdeen: 1995), Ch. 32, pp. 122–28.

⁶⁷³ There are no existing design or planting plans by Mawson for this garden.

⁶⁷⁴ CASK ref. WDB 86/9/4/3 'Shrublands'.

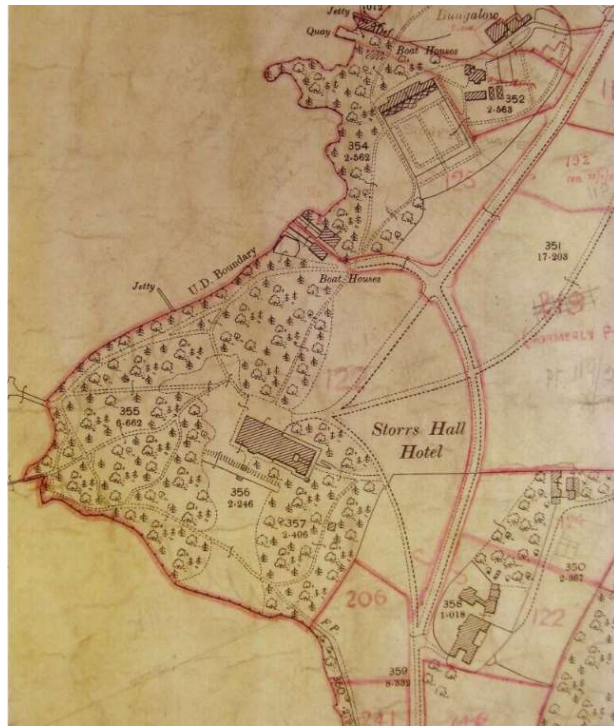
essential recreational requirement, a tennis lawn, is also included, indicating that a certain amount of ground levelling must have been undertaken to accommodate this (Figure 11.III.10).



Figure 11.III.10 Shrublands, Windermere — painting by Ernest Chadwick c. 1911.
House designed by Dan Gibson for Mawson's brother Rupert Terracing, steps, pillars, pergola, tennis court, and a mass of colourful plantings close to the house — all typical features of a Mawson design.

In addition to not purchasing Storrs Hall, which was later sold separately to Benjamin Townson together with seventeen acres (Figure 11.III.11), Pattinson did not retain Storrs

New road from Bowness to Newby Bridge (A594)



New Road (A594) to Newby Bridge

Figure 11.III.11 1909 Ordnance Survey Map (1913 edition) (detail).

The Storrs Estate is now reduced to the Hall and 17 acres, with the kitchen garden possibly no longer being included. The new road (A594) to Newby Bridge has been constructed through the middle of the former estate, rendering the driveway from the Lodge on Middle Lane redundant.

Tenements (The Yews); instead, the property was sold to Sir Samuel Scott around 1900.⁶⁷⁵ As a consequence of the land around this property not being built upon, the tree plantings are still more typical of landscape gardens with broad-leaved deciduous trees such as beech, sycamore, oak, and lime all being present (Figure 11.III.12). These plantings are in complete contrast to those in the area developed by Pattinsons. Here, the tree cover is now predominantly conifers (Figure 11.III.13). It was in these newly created gardens that the greatest



Figure 11.III.12 Storrs Lodge on Middle Entrance Drive (2015).

The trees behind this lodge are typical of those planted in landscape gardens — beech, sycamore, oak, and lime — which predominantly have domed crowns.



Figure 11.III.13 In contrast, the gardens created on the opposite side of Middle Entrance Drive (2015), in the area developed by Pattinsons, include many conifers — these were mainly early twentieth-century plantings with many, as here, having conical crowns. It is probable that these trees were supplied by Pattinsons' nursery.

⁶⁷⁵ The Scott family settled in Bowness after making their fortune in the cotton industry in Bolton.

number and diversity of conifer species were planted — more than had occurred at any other time in the history of the hall and its estate. As: 'estates were being developed at Storrs on such a scale at the turn of the century [...] G.H. Pattinson started his own nurseries at Storrs to do his own planting around [the] new houses'.⁶⁷⁶ This would no doubt have deprived Mawson's family's nursery of a considerable amount of business and which may also indicate that whilst Mawson worked closely with Pattinsons (although Mawson does not mention this in his autobiography), he did not have a monopoly on the conifer plantings in the gardens on the Storrs estate.⁶⁷⁷

The estate continued to be developed, particularly in the 1980s and 1990s with the original gardens of Pattinsons' houses having been divided up with new houses being built (Figure 11.III.14). Many of the original conifers are now very large and inappropriate for these smaller gardens.



11.III.14 Many more homes have been built since the estate was developed by Pattinsons. With the majority of the original gardens having been divided up, conifers now find themselves in gardens too small to accommodate their large size.

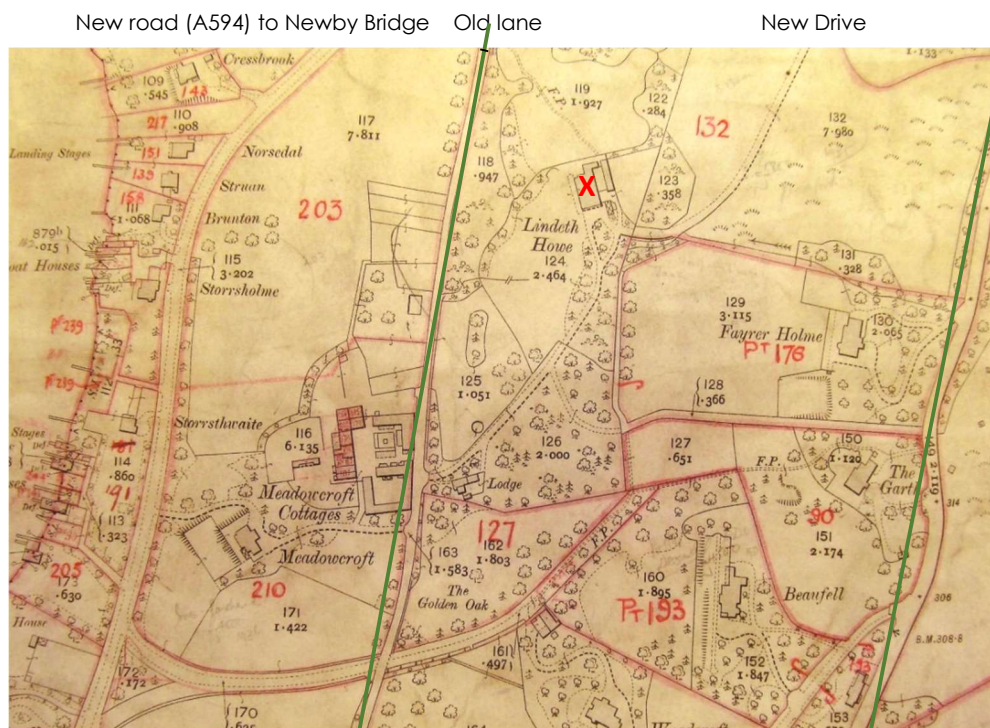
⁶⁷⁶ George H. Pattinson, *Pattinsons: Builders, of Windermere 1573–1973* (Liverpool: 1973), p. 32.

⁶⁷⁷ No records, such as invoices, customers' names, and addresses, exist regarding this nursery. It is therefore not known which plants were grown and supplied, or in what quantities.

11.III.5. Lindeth Howe

11.III.5.1. The property

Lindeth Howe was one of only a few properties to be built on the Storrs estate prior to that estate being auctioned in 1890.⁶⁷⁸ The land upon which the house was built was sold in 1879 by the then owner of the estate, the Reverend Thomas Staniforth. After the sale, a house was built for a wealthy mill owner who required a summer holiday home.⁶⁷⁹ In total, the land extended to approximately twenty-eight acres and by 1909 included: a house, lodge, garden, kitchen garden, greenhouse, woodland, and grassland, some of the latter being rough pasture as indicated on the Ordnance Survey map of 1909 (partially delineated in green Figure 11.III.15). The property is situated on a west-facing slope, which in places is extremely steep in both the garden area and surrounding land. There is a lodge at the driveway's entrance, off the old lane to Bowness (later known as Meadow Lane) opposite Holme Farm (later known as Meadowcroft Cottages).



New Road to Newby Bridge (A592) Meadow Lane (old road to Bowness) B5360 A5074

Figure 11.III.15 Ordnance Survey Map 1909 (1913 edition) (detail), depicting some (extent of the original grounds is uncertain) of Lindeth Howe X (partially delineated in green). At this time, the new road to Newby Bridge was still a private road for the new houses on the Storrs Estate.

⁶⁷⁸ Ordnance Survey map reference: SD 401954.

⁶⁷⁹ Stated in the hotel's literature, but without naming the individual.

11.III.5.2. The garden and conifer plantings

The original garden at Lindeth Howe would have been created at a time when formal historical styles for gardens such as the Italianate, which included formal bedding-out plantings, were being abandoned. In their place were gardens in the Old English Formal style, which contained more naturalistic plantings, as exemplified in the informal planting designs by Jekyll and those in woodland gardens, as promoted by William Robinson. Although it is not known who designed the garden, and there are no existing design or planting plans, the 1909 Ordnance Survey map gives an indication that conifers were planted throughout the area, including along the drive, on the borders of the gardens, and in an oblong bed (near the number 125). There are also photographs of the time, taken by Beatrix Potter's father, Rupert Potter, which not only show the style of the garden but also provide firm evidence for the ornamental use of conifers, including in a bed near the house (middle right of Figure 11.III.16). The photographs depict the house and



Figure 11.III.16 Lindeth Howe — conifers to the right of the house, marked X, and a rear garden with formal rose beds and a large conifer on the left (which is probably the same tree with the conical shape in the centre of Figure 11.III.18).

garden for the years 1911 and 1913 when the Potter family came to Lindeth Howe for their holidays. As a consequence of the enjoyable time spent at this property, it was purchased in 1915 by Beatrix Potter as a home for her widowed mother.⁶⁸⁰ From the photographs, it would appear that the garden had informal plantings of trees (both conifers and broad-leaved) and

⁶⁸⁰ Despite Beatrix Potter being an author, artist, and naturalist, and on occasions including Scots pine in her illustrations, she did not express any opinions on conifers.

shrubs combined with more formal rose beds. Within the informal plantings, different species were combined, utilizing their different shapes: these included members of the genera *Pinus* — pines and *Chamaecyparis* — ‘false’ cypresses (Figure 11.III.17). The larger specimens in the



Figure 11.III.17 Looking away from the house over Lake Windermere with more informal plantings of trees and shrubs, which even by this time were blocking most of the view of the lake.

photographs would have been planted shortly after the property was built. But others, judging from their size in the photographs, such as those five or six conically shaped trees grouped together in the bed near the house would have been planted later, probably after Bruce Wentworth purchased the property around 1900 (Figure 11.III.18). This shape is very common



Figure 11.III.18 Lindeth Howe — photograph by Rupert Potter, September 1911. As indicated by their size, the conifers near the house do not look thirty years old and were therefore probably planted around 1900, and not when the house was built in 1879.

for a number of species but is often only retained whilst they are immature. With age, their shape alters or, as in this instance, can be affected by overcrowding. This will have led to some being removed, dying, or being badly misshapen. Conifers are also present to the east and north of the property, with three larger specimens to the left of the house. These are already overtopping their broad-leaved neighbours.

All the conifers that were planted in the garden — from the earliest after the garden was created, and in later decades — will have altered over time as all gardens and the plants they contain continually evolve. This occurs not only because of changing environmental factors often causing plants to die and gardeners making additions and alterations, but also because plants continue to grow, with trees in particular becoming very large and their size not always being anticipated when they were first planted. This appears to be particularly pertinent in the area of study, as many of the views for which properties were built to take advantage of now find trees obscuring such views. As is also evident from the photograph of the garden in 1949, the conifers that had been planted in earlier decades are now of a substantial size and much more visible. Those on the east side of the property, being in a row, may have been planted as a shelter belt rather than for ornament (Figure 11.III.19). Other differences between the garden of 1911 and 1949 are that there are no longer any rose beds, but a rockery, pond, greenhouse,

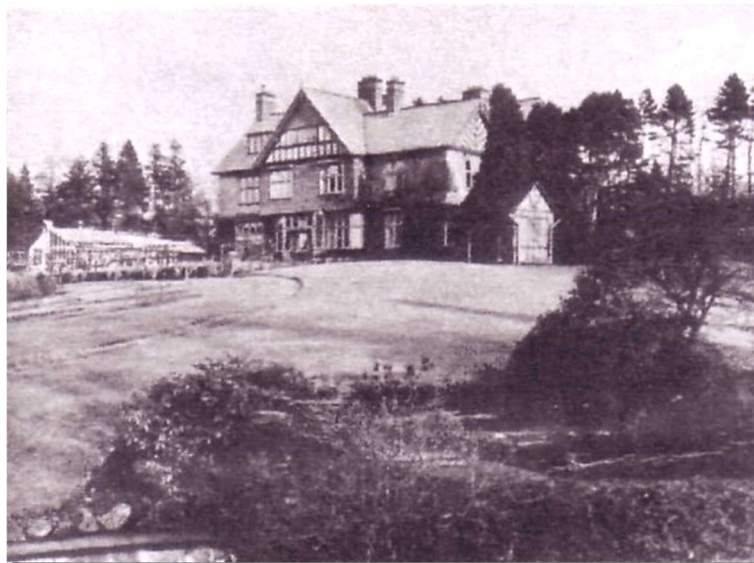


Figure 11.III.19 Lindeth Howe — photograph 1949. The same view as in Figure 11.III.18, but taken forty years later, by which time the property was surrounded on the north and east sides by tall conifers.

and summer house are present in the 1949 garden. The *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* 'Erecta' behind this summerhouse appears to be the only remaining conifer of the group planted around 1900. The extant conifers that were planted shortly after the property was built and those in the 1900s are obvious today, owing to their large size. They are shown clearly in an aerial photograph (c. 1990s) with the *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* 'Erecta' still being particularly noticeable beside the house (Figure 11.III.20). An example of a tree that was probably planted



Figure 11.III.20 Lindeth Howe — aerial view (1990s?).
The original conifer plantings stand out today owing to their size, with one particularly large *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* 'Erecta' (possibly being one of those in Rupert Potter's photograph) dwarfing the adjacent group of conifers planted more recently in the 1970s or 1980s but since removed.

shortly after the house was built is a *Pseudotsuga menziesii* — Douglas fir, which now towers above all the surrounding trees (Figure 11.III.21). The size of this tree may not have been



Figure 11.III.21 Lindeth Howe — view of the garden looking north (2016).
Despite being at the bottom of a bank, a *Pseudotsuga menziesii* — Douglas fir towers above all the other trees, dominating the garden with its lop-sided presence.

anticipated when it was planted, but this garden was sufficiently large to accommodate its growth, whereas in smaller gardens or those that have subsequently been divided into separate plots, it would clearly have outgrown its situation. In addition to this tree's large height, its crown is now somewhat lop-sided and gaunt, perhaps having been wind damaged, and the regular conic shape of its youth has long since disappeared. Owing to its prominent position at the front of the house, a tree that was probably planted as a specimen is a *Cupressus macrocarpa* — Monterey cypress (Figure 11.III.22). Today, it is no longer seen in its original setting, and it

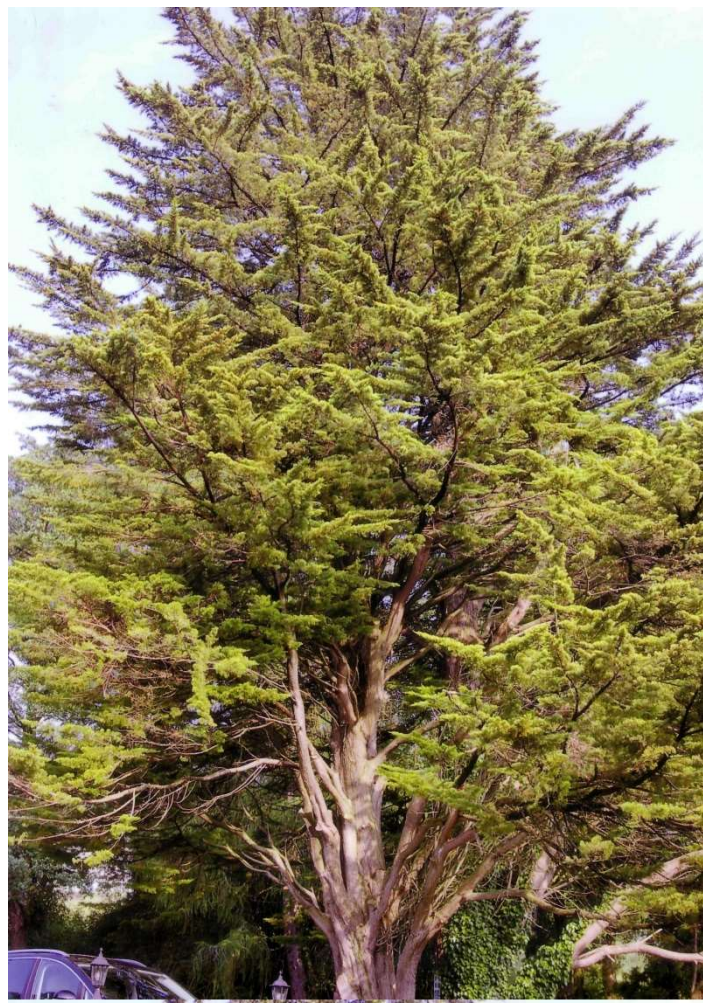


Figure 11.III.22 *Cupressus macrocarpa* — Monterey cypress (2016).
Lower limbs having been removed, combined with its natural habit of growth,
has resulted in the exposure of a large bare area of trunk.

is not situated in a suitable position, as it is on the edge of the hotel's car park — an area that was not in existence when it was first planted. To avoid damage to guests' cars, some of the

tree's lower branches have been removed, which, in addition to its natural growth, has meant a considerable area of bare trunk has been revealed, altering both the shape of the tree and its aesthetics. This tree's growth and situation have been compromised to such an extent that it can no longer be regarded or admired, as it was once, as a specimen tree.

In addition to conifers being planted in the garden around the house, they were also planted in the garden of the property's lodge (known today as Lodge Gate) situated at the end of the original main drive, opposite Meadowcroft Cottages, on Meadow Lane (Figure 11.III.23). For its size, this small garden contains an exceptional number of conifers, including:



Figure 11.III.23 Lodge at the entrance to Lindeth Howe, known today as Lindeth Gate, the garden of which has an exceptional variety of conifers including, *Araucaria araucana* — monkey puzzle and *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* — Lawson's cypress (narrow form) (2016).

two very healthy *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* — Lawson cypress (one of which is tall and very narrow), *C. pisifera* 'Plumosa' (poor with a sparse canopy), two *Larix europaea* — European larch (one of which is dying), *Araucaria araucana* — monkey puzzle (browning of lower branches and growth compromised by other trees), and *Thujaopsis dolabrata* — Hiba (fine and healthy but growth compromised by other trees). With hindsight, it is obvious that the natural growth of these trees has been severely restricted by being planted too close together.

Consideration regarding their potential height and breadth appears to have been lacking when they were first planted. This may have been the consequence of impatience, with creating an immediate and impactful display being a priority. The mistake that was made (just as it occurs today) was that too many were included in plantings to compensate for their small size when first planted. This has resulted in most being misshapen today with sparsely foliated crowns owing to the density of tree cover (and their age).

More conifers were planted along Lindeth Howe's original drive, including an *Abies procera* — noble fir, but nearer the hotel, where a large section of the garden was sold in the 1970s, development has occurred, which includes holiday cottages and a number of private homes. As a consequence, the garden today is considerably smaller than it was when the property was first built, and a number of trees that were once in Lindeth Howe's garden now find themselves in the garden of another property. In addition to a number of these properties having their own recently planted conifers, those in Lindeth Howe's garden can also still be seen, including the original plantings of the *Pseudotsuga menziesii* and *Cupressus macrocarpa*, and more recent plantings of golden varieties of *Thuja plicata* (Figure 11.III.24).

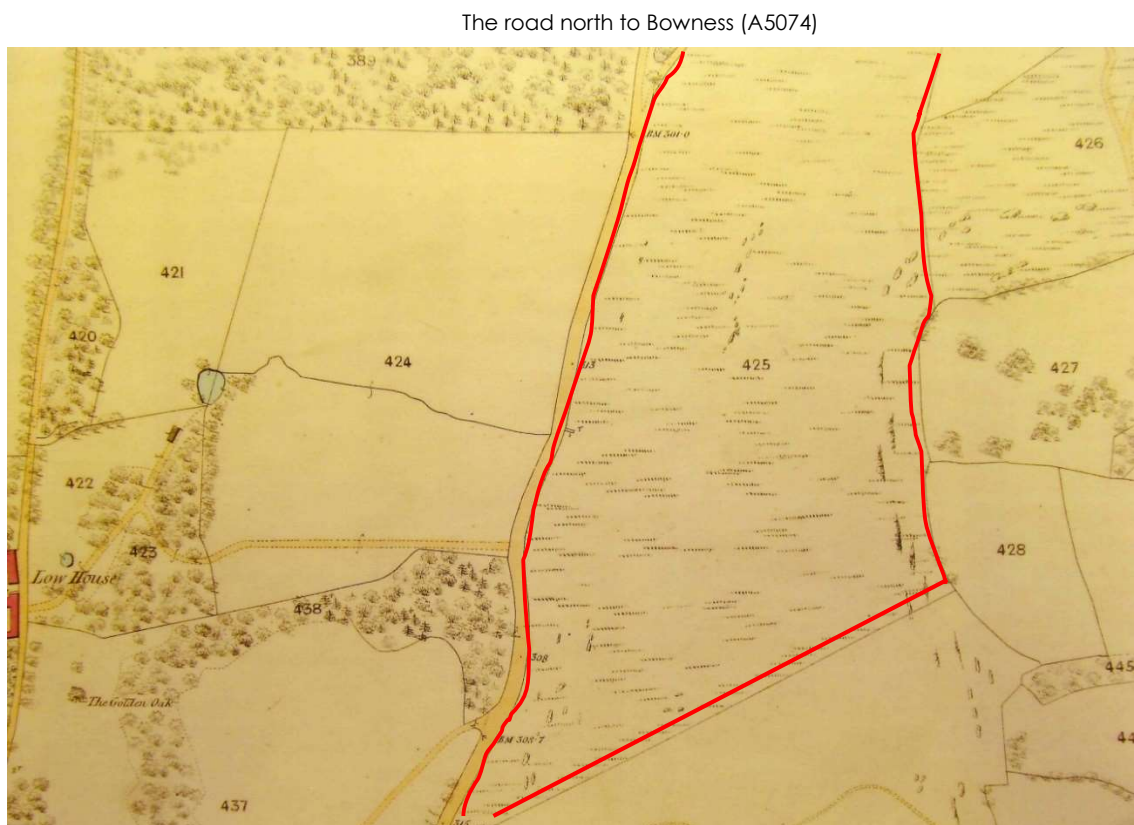


Figure 11.III.24 Original and more recent conifer plantings as viewed over a newer property to Lindeth Howe (2016).

11.III.6. Lindeth Fell

11.III.6.1. The property

Lindeth Fell (formerly known as Tremlo) is situated on the east side of the A5074, with the northerly boundary being the B5284 to Crook. On the OS Map (1858) 1860 edition, the land upon which Lindeth Fell was built is depicted as rough grassland, with rocky outcrops depicted on the easterly side. Most noticeably, the area is completely devoid of trees, and the only other property in existence in the vicinity at this time was Low House (Figure 11.III.25).



The road south to Newby Bridge (A5074)

Figure 11.III.25 Ordnance Survey Map 1858 (revised and coloured edition) (detail).

The land upon which Lindeth Fell was built was rough grassland on a west-facing slope — and very steep to the east (where rocky outcrops are depicted) (delineated in red). Low House was the only property in this area.

By 1909, the area that had been rough grassland had been replaced with a house, chauffeur's lodge,⁶⁸¹ driveway, gardens (in which there was a tennis lawn and croquet lawn), kitchen garden and greenhouse to the rear of the property, and extensive plantings of

⁶⁸¹ Stables were no longer required — with cars now replacing horses. In a photograph from c. 1913, the Lings family are proudly displaying their car beside the front entrance to Lindeth Fell.

coniferous and broad-leaved trees. All that remained of what was depicted on the earlier map was the reservoir and a relatively small area of grassland. In total, the property amounted to 28.793 acres, of which the garden occupied just over three acres. The extent of the property has been delineated in bright red on the 1909 OS map with the original name of Tremlo having been replaced in pencil with Lindeth Fell (Figure 11.III.27). The design and construction of



Figure 11.III.26 Ordnance Survey Map 1909 — subsequent edition of 1913 (detail). Lindeth Fell formerly known as Tremlo — a very different scenario from the previous map.

Lindeth Fell have been attributed to Pattinsons, as architecturally it is typical of many of the homes of this building firm, combining white roughcast, local stone, Westmorland slate, numerous gables, and round chimney stacks — the latter being a token gesture to

vernacularism (Figure 11.III.28).⁶⁸² The size of the houses Pattinsons built varied depending on



Figure 11.III.27 Lindeth Fell — photograph c. 1913.
Houses built by the local builders, Pattinsons, were frequently of a similar style combining white roughcast, local stone, and Westmorland slate, together with numerous gables and round chimney stacks.

the requirements of potential purchasers, but usually they were of a sufficient size to accommodate not only the family but also their servants, which at Lindeth Fell numbered seven.⁶⁸³ The size of the gardens and grounds also varied, often being determined and restricted by the terrain. These properties clearly had an appeal to members of the wealthy middle-class requiring retirement or holiday homes or weekend retreats. However, since being built, the majority of these houses and their gardens have undergone considerable changes, with many being split into separate dwellings and their gardens divided and built upon. Lindeth Fell has also not been immune to change, as in the 1970s, the property changed from being a private residence to a hotel, with several extensions and further alterations being made to accommodate a larger number of guests. At the same time, a considerable portion of the land (22 acres) and the chauffeur's lodge were sold off separately, including most of the mixed plantation area (which included the steep bank immediately to the east of the property) and the fields to the west and south of the reservoir.

Whilst the property has undergone considerable changes, the hard landscaping of the garden has remained unaltered, the only exceptions being the absence of the kitchen

⁶⁸² No documentary evidence has been obtained to substantiate this attribution.

⁶⁸³ The 1911 Census lists the occupants of Lindeth Fell: the family members and servants, and their various occupations.

garden and greenhouse, and the parking area at the front of the house having been enlarged to accommodate guests' cars. The garden still wraps around the house and is composed of the following: a sweeping drive up a steepish slope with naturalistic plantings of shrubs and trees to either side; the front entrance area, having been enlarged to accommodate car parking for guests; formal terracing to the west side of the house (the side overlooking the view), which includes a top terrace with two bastions (used as seating areas in the past and today); second terraced area with an enclosed area with a herbaceous border either side of a path (previously a rose garden) and a third terrace comprising two levelled areas, one for a tennis court and the other for a croquet lawn; and more natural areas to the north of the garden, with plantings of rhododendrons and Japanese acers, and a variety of trees including conifers. In the southern area of the garden, around The Tarn (originally the reservoir), there are informal plantings of trees and shrubs, including numerous conifers.

Today, Lindeth Fell is owned by the Kennedy family, who bought the house (hotel) together with approximately eight acres in 1984. The extent of the property, and most notably the now mature conifer plantings, is partly shown on an aerial photograph taken in the 1990s (Figure 11.III.28). For thirty years, the family ran the property as a hotel, but today it is a five-star bed and breakfast establishment.



Figure 11.III.28 Bird's-eye photograph of the property in the late 1980s, with The Tarn being just out of the photograph to the right. The darker foliage of conifers and their more conical shapes contrast with the brighter green and more domed shape of broad-leaved trees. There are two *Taxus baccata* 'Fastigiata' — Irish yews either side of the steps down from the tennis court area.

11.III.6.2. The garden and coniferous ornamental plantings

Although it has always been assumed, by past and present owners, that Lindeth Fell's garden was designed by Mawson, there is no archival evidence to confirm this assumption.⁶⁸⁴ However, as the garden possesses many of the hallmark features so typical of his designs, combined with the fact that other gardens of Pattinsons' properties are thought to have been designed by him, the likelihood is that he also designed this garden.⁶⁸⁵ With regard to which conifer species may have been recommended by Mawson, and planted in Lindeth Fell's garden, reference has to be made to the following, his views on individual species contained in *The Art and Craft*⁶⁸⁶, his planting plans of other properties,⁶⁸⁷ and this and any other extant garden in the area that Mawson designed and in which conifers from this time still exist. In relation to the latter, difficulties arise in ageing trees (core sampling not being possible), and so it is not always possible to give an accurate date of when a conifer may have been planted.⁶⁸⁸ However, comparisons can be made to trees of a similar size with known ages and other circumstances taken into account such as when particular species were available or when they became fashionable.

There were several ways in which conifers were used in Lindeth Fell's garden and wider landscape. This included planting singly, or in groups or in a plantation — with the latter being evident even before the building of the property had been completed (Figure 11.III.29). In later photographs (c. 1913), it is clearly evident that a considerable amount of planting had occurred by this time with the garden already looking well established and the plantations on the hillsides to the north, south, and east of the property having a considerable impact on the landscape in altering the wide open expanse of the fells (Figures 11.III.30 & 11.III.31). From these photographs, these appear to be similar to forestry plantations, which in the past invariably contained large numbers of very few species and, as here, blanketed the hillsides in a monotonous manner.

⁶⁸⁴ It is not included in either Janet Waymark's biography of Mawson (2010) or Harriet Jordan's PhD thesis (1988), as a garden designed by Mawson.

⁶⁸⁵ Only anecdotal evidence for this including Diana Matthews's assertion that Mawson and Pattinson worked closely together.

⁶⁸⁶ Mawson, *The Art and Craft* (1901), Chapter XIII 'Planting for Landscape Effect', pp. 125–36.

⁶⁸⁷ Whilst there is an extensive archive held at Cumbria Archive Service relating to Mawson's commissions, no garden or planting plans for gardens in and around Bowness have been ascertained which include individual conifers species.

⁶⁸⁸ The method of ageing a tree by measuring its circumference is also not very accurate, owing to trees maturing at different rates and environmental influences. For the method of estimating the age of a tree, see Alan Mitchell, *Trees of Britain and Northern Europe* (London: 2001), p. 17.

However, even though from the photographs there appears to be little variety on the 1909 map, these plantations are marked as having both coniferous and broad-leaved trees. It is more likely, therefore, that these plantations were planted to create shelter belts and as a consequence would have had a greater diversity of species than a plantation purely for the production of timber.



Figure 11.III.29 View to the north over The Tarn (formerly known as the reservoir) c. 1908. This photograph shows that the construction of Lindeth Fell (Tremlo) has nearly been completed with all the hard landscaping (particularly the terrace walls with bastions) being present. Clearly, a plantation on the hill was well established before the property was finished. Today, the view to the distant fells is completely obscured by trees.

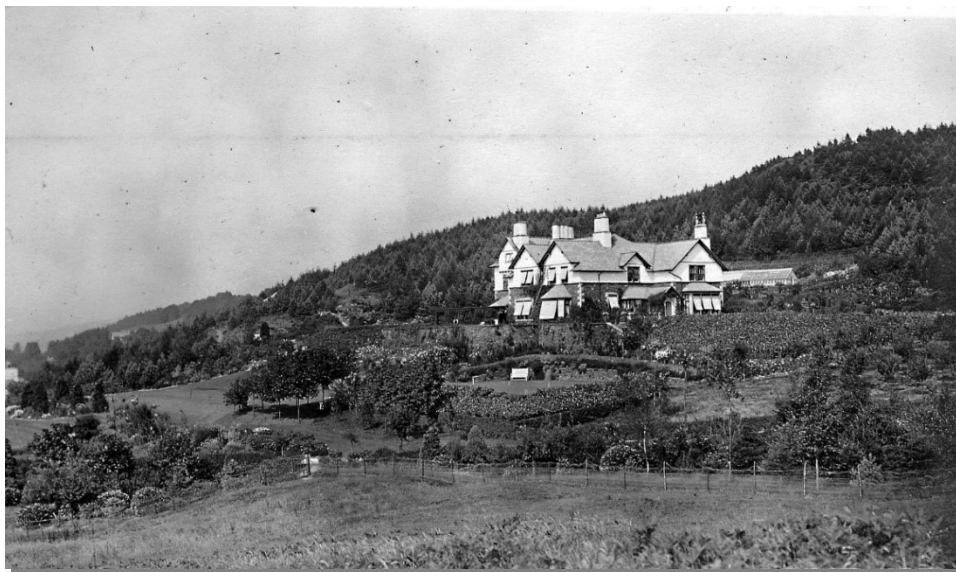


Figure 11.III.30 View to the north-east, c. 1913 — with well-established plantations in which the trees are considerably larger than in the 1908 photograph. It is also noticeable that trees have been planted in groups sometimes combined with shrubs, and an orchard is on the right.



Figure 11.III.31 View south from the top terrace (with two bastions) c. 1913.
By this time, the garden plantings were looking well established, as were the plantations in the distance. A lower terrace incorporating a rose garden is on the right.

Although Mawson may have considered the positioning of these plantations, according to the views he expressed in *The Art and Craft*, so that they gave the property shelter from all directions they now block much of the expansive views the property once enjoyed, indicating that insufficient consideration was given by Mawson to their long-term impact. In addition to Scots pine being present, the following species are found in the plantations today: *Picea abies*, *Larix europaea*, and *Tsuga canadensis* (or *T. heterophylla*) (Figure 11.III.32). As these introduced



Figure 11.III.32 Mixed species in a plantation to the side and rear of Lindeth Fell (2018), giving a variety of colour and shape with their different morphological characteristics.
Two of the larger trees are *Thuja plicata* — western red cedar (conical shape) and *Pinus sylvestris* — Scots pine (the canopy with irregular branching, and blue-grey foliage).

trees are in a plantation setting rather than in the garden, they would have been considered acceptable by Mawson. Irrespective of when they were planted, the effect from using different species in a shelter belt is very different from using only one or two species, the latter being less interesting because of a lack of variety of form and colour.⁶⁸⁹ Conifers were also planted in beds and borders at Lindeth Fell, although it is difficult to assess their ornamental value today, as compared with when they were first planted, as many are suffering from overcrowding, resulting in their individual shape being lost. However, the photograph of the front of the house taken around 1913 (Figure 11.III.28) does give a good indication of the way in which they were used in the raised bed to the right of the front entrance. Here, conifers of different shapes — tall and conical or short, rounded, and dumpy — have been planted with, at this time, plenty of space between them. Dwarf species and cultivars as recommended by Mawson were probably used here, such as: '*Cupressus argentea*' (*Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* 'Argentea' ?⁶⁹⁰), described by Mawson as: 'a very compact pyramidal variety, and one of the most useful grown', and *C. nana* (correct name today: *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* 'Nana'), 'a dwarf variety [...] forming thick and massive bushes, it is an interesting conifer, and one which can often be used with effect in connection with rockwork'.⁶⁹¹

It is also still evident that certain species were used for pairing such as *Chamaecyparis pisifera* 'Plumosa' (at the entrance), *C. pisifera* 'Filiformis' either side of the drive, and *Taxus baccata* 'Fastigiata' either side of the steps down to the tennis law. Various species were also planted in groups, either of all the same species or mixed, an example of the former being a group of *C. lawsoniana* in the adjacent field, and the latter *C. pisifera* 'Plumosa' being planted either side of a *C. pisifera* 'Squarrosa' (beside the lower lawn). Other species appear to have been favoured for single or specimen planting such as *Thujopsis dolabrata* — Hiba and *Cryptomeria japonica* — Japanese red cedar, but again their individual shape has been lost over the years through losing their lower branches, from overcrowding, or both (Figures 11.III.33 &

⁶⁸⁹ For a comparison, see Lindeth Howe.

⁶⁹⁰ It is uncertain as to the conifer Mawson was referring to, as there are a number of cultivars today, which include the name 'Argentea' but none of which conform to Mawson's description or which had been introduced at this time. See Aris G. Auders & Derek P. Spicer, *Royal Horticultural Society, Encyclopedia of Conifers, A Comprehensive Guide to Cultivars and Species*. Vol. I (Nicosia: 2012), p. 228.

⁶⁹¹ Mawson (1901), p. 146.

11.III.34). Being evergreen, all the conifers in the garden at Lindeth Fell will have given (just as



Figure 11.III.33 *Thujaopsis dolobrata* — Hiba (2018).
A bare lower trunk and hemmed in by a
Chamaecyparis pisifera 'Filifera'

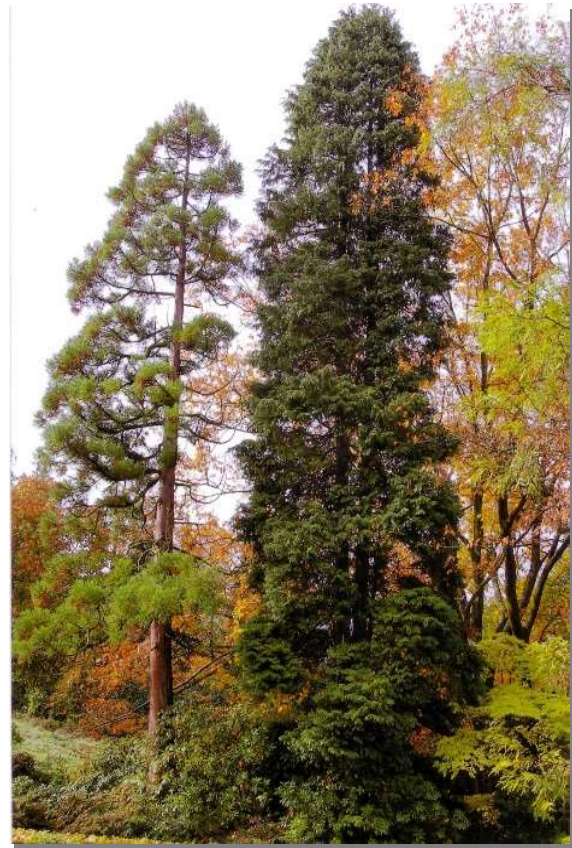


Figure 11.III.34 *Cryptomeria japonica* —
Japanese red cedar (2018),
with a lop-sided crown.

they continue to do today) structure and colour throughout the year. They also created variety by not only being different from each other but also complementing their many deciduous neighbours. The difference in shape and colour between conifers and broad-leaved trees is very evident in the aerial photograph of the property in the 1990s. Variety is also achieved by the use of species with differently shaped crowns: from the tall, narrow, dark green *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* to the rounded 'fluffy' bluey grey *C. pisifera* 'Squarrosa' and the golden varieties including *C. pisifera* 'Filiformis Aurea' with their golden thread-like foliage. The variety of form and colour is particularly noticeable in the winter months when many of the conifers are no longer obscured by broad-leaved trees (Figure 11.III.35). Mawson particularly favoured *C. lawsoniana* 'Aurea', which is probably the variety in the group at the end of the top terrace. The colour of golden varieties is heightened when, as here, they are placed next to the 'type' or

Thuja with their dark green foliage. At this time of year, no deciduous broad-leaved trees would give such variety and colour to a garden.



Figure 11.III.35 Top Terrace (April 2017).
Contrasting colour in the group of conifers at the north end of the top terrace — including (left to right) *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana*, *C. lawsoniana* 'Aurea' (cv. identification needs confirming), *Thuja plicata*, and *Chamaecyparis pisifera* 'Filifera Aurea'.

11.III.6.3. Changes in the conifer plantings

Gardens, such as Lindeth Fell's, do not remain static and can change very quickly in both their design and plantings. These plantings have undoubtedly changed in this garden, as over the decades, many conifers have died or been felled, and others have been planted (particularly in the 1980s by Mr Kennedy). As a consequence, this has created some difficulty in being able to assess the original plantings. However, the changes that occur are often evident from photographs, and those of Lindeth Fell are particularly helpful in indicating the presence, progression, and growth of the conifers Mawson or others planted from the time the property was built and subsequently.⁶⁹²

A number of changes that had occurred by 1936 (when the property was owned by Mr Forwards) are indicated in a photograph of that date, including how Mawson's plantings had matured by this time. Although the quality of this photograph is not very good, certain facts can be deduced, particularly when drawing comparisons with a contemporary photograph (Figures

⁶⁹² As there are no planting plans for this garden, it cannot be stated categorically when and by whom they were planted. A comparison with Cringlemire can give an idea of the number of trees that may have been used in the plantations.

11.III.36 & 11.III.37). These include showing that the plantation of larch (probably *Larix europaea*⁶⁹³), on the left, was still present, whereas in the contemporary photograph, this appears to have been replaced by Scots pine. On the right, several conical conifers, both large and small, are evident. The shape of these trees is indicative of western red-cedars, and after approximately twenty-five years of growth, they are of a substantial size. As a consequence, they must have been part of the original planting around 1909. As there is only one substantial



Figure 11.III.36 View looking south over to The Tarn (1936). None of the conifers on the right, whose outline indicates *Thuja plicata*, appear to be present in 2018. The smaller conifers are probably those that are the largest today, having had eighty years of growth. *Larix* are in the plantation on the left.



Figure 11.III.37 Similar view but angled a little more to the left. (2017). *Pinus sylvestris* has replaced the *Larix* sp. (the view from the original viewpoint is obscured by trees and large rhododendrons).

⁶⁹³ It is possible to identify this conifer to generic level because of it being deciduous and frequently having a lop-sided leader. Closer examination would be required to identify it to species level.

western red-cedar in the garden today (and not in this location), which could be over one hundred years old, it would appear that this grouping was subsequently removed and replaced with a Lawson cypress and a Japanese red cedar (present in this position today). As Mawson disliked Lawson cypress, it would seem probable that all the specimens in the garden of this species were not part of his original plantings.

11.III.7. Conclusion

11.III.7.1. Storrs Estate

From the information obtained, it is evident that there were three distinct phases for the ornamental planting of conifers on the Storrs estate. The first was in the eighteenth century after the hall had been built and which occurred in a landscape-style garden; the second was after the Gothic Revival style in architecture was beginning to become old-fashioned but before the Arts and Crafts style had fully emerged; and the third was after the estate was sold and developed, and when the Arts and Crafts style was fashionable. This development, and resulting creation of many gardens, undoubtedly enabled the planting of numerous conifers in the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth. The change that occurred in the types of trees in this area was very pronounced, as much of the area changed from having predominantly broad-leaved plantings to coniferous plantings.

11.III.7.2. The garden of Lindeth Howe

This garden was created in the second phase and as a consequence was an intermediary garden, being neither in a style fashionable several decades earlier, such as the Italianate, nor yet influenced by the 'Old English Formal' style. However, the conifers in the garden still reflected earlier influences, with *Pseudotsuga menziesii* — Douglas fir and *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* 'Erecta' being planted. The former tree had been introduced in 1827 but by the 1890s was rarely planted for ornamental purposes. The latter fared better in that it was very popular and fashionable from the date of its introduction in 1855 and remained so through the later decades of the nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. From the photographs of the garden, it is evident that conifers were being used for various ornamental plantings, including *Chamaecyparis* and *Thuja* species, and cultivars were being planted in for beds and borders, and *Abies procera* — noble fir and *Cupressus macrocarpa* — Monterey cypress, for

specimen trees. It is also evident that conifers were being used for practical purposes, with pines and spruces acting as shelter belts.

The choice of conifers for the Lodge also appears to have been more typical of an earlier period than a garden after 1900. This is indicated by the presence of *Araucaria araucana*, which was not a popular or fashionable tree after the 1880s. However, the size of this tree and others in the garden, which are not of a very substantial size, indicate that they may have been planted later and that current fashionable trends for ornamental conifer plantings were not an important criterion when it came to the choice of trees for this garden.

11.III.7.3. The garden of Lindeth Fell

This garden was created after the Storrs estate was sold, and when the Arts and Crafts style had fully emerged and garden styles such as the Old English Formal had been fashionable for several years. In the design of both the house and the garden, Lindeth Fell represented something new in the area. Although it is not possible to state categorically that Mawson designed the garden, the features and plantings it contained indicate that he did, or if not had a considerable influence. This is evident in the conifer plantings in that within the garden, certain species were used for specific purposes, as recommended by him, and that considerable variety of form and colour was achieved by the use of different species in a manner advocated in his *Art and Craft*. However, the number of different species presently in the garden (approximately twelve) is very limited, and even if more had been planted, which have since died, it would still be a minuscule number compared with the many hundreds that were available at this time. It would appear, therefore, that either Mawson's knowledge or that of subsequent gardeners, regarding the huge array of conifers, was not that extensive. Alternatively, Mawson may have wished to use only the species with which he was familiar and which he knew would do well and cause few problems. The limited number may also have been the consequence of his not wishing to have a garden that was a place for a collection of conifers, something he disliked.⁶⁹⁴ What is also apparent is that Mawson and subsequent gardeners at Lindeth Fell may not have been aware of the size many of the species planted would attain. This would have been a problem in the past, as it

⁶⁹⁴ For his views on the collection of trees at Cringlemire, see Waymark, *Thomas Mawson* (2010), p. 42.

continues to be today, with many large conifer species, not only at Lindeth Fell but in the gardens of surrounding properties, blocking the views of Lake Windermere and the fells beyond — the views being the very reason that many people visited or lived in the area. With many of these conifers no longer being on the property's land, the present owners have no control over whether these trees stay or are felled or topped (Figure 11.III.38). When they were first planted,



11.III.38 Various conifer species on the land adjacent to Lindeth Fell that now block the view to Lake Windermere (2017).

they would have been of a small size, and relatively small for several years, but after twenty years would have grown to a substantial size. This is evident on the boundary beside the road where conifers, which were originally planted for privacy, now act as a barrier to the view, and because of this they are no longer considered desirable. Also, owing to their size and age, many conifers in the garden now only have foliage at the top of their crowns or suffer from overcrowding, which, combined with over-zealous pruning, has resulted in their being neither a good representative of the species nor aesthetically very pleasing. What is seen today is therefore not a true representation of how they would have looked in the first decades of the twentieth century.

It is evident from this garden, and others on the Storrs estate, that conifers remained popular from the 1900s to the outbreak of the First World War, and that it was Mawson and Pattinsons, working alone or collaboratively, who were primarily responsible for this. It was also at a time when these trees had long ceased to be considered fashionable by many other gardeners and garden designers.

12. Conclusion

12.1. A combination of factors

The conifers that were planted for ornamental purposes in gardens and parkland in Bowness during the period 1847–1914 were the consequence of six factors occurring concurrently during this time.

12.1.1. The first, and most crucial, of these was that Bowness had favourable environmental conditions for growing conifers from all areas of the temperate world. As gardens are also 'site specific in that they are made in a particular place, with a particular topography, a particular climate and particular soils', the range of plants that are able to grow in them varies.⁶⁹⁵ In comparison with other areas of the country, the environmental conditions are particularly favourable in the Lake District, and therefore in Bowness, for growing conifers, particularly those from the north-west Pacific coast of North America.

12.1.2. The second factor was the beauty of the landscape, as without this, the area would not have attracted the many wealthy industrialists, the offcomers, to build their holiday, retirement, or permanent homes. The consequence of these homes being built was that gardens, often substantial ones, were also created, giving considerable scope for planting conifers.

12.1.3. The third factor was the Industrial Revolution, as this created the wealth that enabled the offcomers to afford to build their homes in the area. In addition, the technological advances of the time made it possible, after 1847 and the arrival of the railway to Bowness, for the offcomers to travel by train to Windermere in a much quicker and more comfortable mode of transport than had previously been possible.

12.1.4. The fourth factor was the development of pleasure gardens, as without these, the scope for planting conifers solely for ornamental purposes would have been very limited. In the country, after the departure of the Romans, the establishing of gardens purely for pleasure did not occur in any meaningful way until several decades after the arrival of the Normans, and possibly as late as the fifteenth century. However, by the seventeenth century, gardens had become an essential adjunct to the stately homes of a wealthy elite, and conifers began to be

⁶⁹⁵ Thompson, 'Gardens, Parks and Sense of Place', *Making Sense of Place*, ed. by Convery et al. (London: 2014), p. 159.

planted in significant numbers on estates throughout England, including in the Lake District at Lowther Castle and Levens Hall, but as yet no notable gardens had been created in Bowness.

In the eighteenth century, formal gardens were replaced by informal landscape gardens, and the formal use of conifers, particularly for topiary, was replaced by informal plantings, with conifers such as yew now remaining unclipped and in their natural state. In Bowness, this type of planting occurred on the Storrs estate, and although there is pictorial information to indicate that conifers were planted, there is no archival material to show which species these were. Most probably, it was the two most available species at this time, Scots pine and Norway spruce, and possibly larch. However, there is evidence to indicate that large numbers of conifers were being planted on Claife Heights to the west of Lake Windermere and on the Calgarth estate just to the north of Bowness, but these were for plantations rather than for ornamental purposes.

In the nineteenth century, garden fashions changed again with formality returning and topiary once more being fashionable. It was in the Victorian gardens of the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s that the greatest diversity and number of conifers were planted for ornamental purposes — it was their heyday during this period. However, this was not the situation in Bowness, as the early Victorian garden styles, such as the Italianate, prevalent from the 1840s, did not occur in any meaningful way until several decades later when they had ceased to be fashionable elsewhere in the country. The consequence of this was that the planting of conifers also occurred several decades later. In contrast, the new style for gardens that emerged in the country after 1880, the 'Old English Formal', did occur at the same time in Bowness, and irrespective of the fashionable status of conifers having declined, they continued to be planted in the newly created gardens through to 1914.

12.1.5. The fifth factor, and one that enabled a greater diversity of conifer species to be planted, was that these trees became increasingly available. This was the consequence of many new species being introduced into the country, nurseries breeding many cultivars and offering both for sale. Without the introduction of these, the choice for gardeners would have been limited to just the three native species. However, even though species had started to be introduced as early as the fifteenth century, it was only in very small numbers, and even by the

seventeenth century, the number of different species planted in gardens was still very limited, being primarily yew and juniper. Occasionally, Norway spruce and, most notably, cedar of Lebanon were also planted. It was only towards the end of the eighteenth century that a greater number of species and cultivars were available, and then increasingly throughout the nineteenth century, with three of the most significant introductions occurring in the 1850s — *Wellingtonia* (1853), western red cedar (1853), and Lawson cypress (1854) — all of which had a considerable impact on the aesthetics of gardens and parks. Towards the latter decades of the century, the greater availability of new species, and particularly cultivars that had different forms and colours, enabled gardeners to achieve considerably more variety in their ornamental conifer plantings than had previously been possible.

12.1.6. The sixth and final factor that contributed to the planting of conifers in Bowness was the work of Thomas Mawson. In particular, the fact that his early commissions were concentrated in and around Bowness had a significant effect. This was the result of his being directly or indirectly responsible for not only a considerable number of conifers being planted in the area but also the manner in which they were planted. In addition, it was also due to Mawson's endeavours that conifers remained fashionable in Bowness at a time when, in other areas of the country, this was no longer the situation.

12.2. Species planted and manner of planting

12.2.1. Research revealed that there are three native conifer species: *Taxus baccata* — yew, *Pinus sylvestris* — Scots pine, and *Juniperus communis* — juniper. Of these three, it was yew that had the most significance for gardens. This was because far more than any other species, whether native, introduced, or cultivars, it was planted extensively and continuously from the end of the sixteenth century to 1914 (and the present day), although the manner in which it was used altered with the changes that occurred in garden design.

From the seventeenth century, and for the first time, descriptions and opinions of the morphological characteristics of conifers began to appear in books. These undoubtedly influenced gardeners regarding their choice of species for gardens, an example being the cedar of Lebanon that, having received favourable comments, was invariably planted in most of the notable gardens at that time and in those in the succeeding centuries.

12.2.2. Although, in the eighteenth century, conifers were being included in groups and in belts in the landscape gardens, and on occasions as specimen trees, particularly cedar of Lebanon, such plantings appear to have been limited to a relatively small number of species: European larch, Scots pine, Norway spruce, and silver fir. In the area around Bowness, there is some evidence to indicate that such plantings occurred on the Storrs and Calgarth estates. On occasions, a greater variety of conifer species were planted, but these were restricted to estates further south in the country and belonged to avid tree collectors such as Lord Petre, and there were no such tree collectors or collections in Bowness at this time. Similarly, although there were indications in other areas of the country that conifers were beginning to be used in more innovative ways, such as in the flower gardens of Nuneham Courtney, there is no evidence for this occurring in Bowness. In the Lake District, there are the occasional glimpses of different species being planted, including 'silver firs' at Rydal Hall, but owing to a lack of notable gardens, such plantings would have been a rarity.

Whilst the number of different conifer species being planted in the eighteenth century appears to have remained limited, it is apparent, particularly from illustrations of the time, that the manner of their use altered radically. No longer were yew and juniper subjected to endless trimming for *hortulan* architecture, and topiary was virtually non-existent. Conifers were now being left to grow naturally as standard trees in an informal manner, displaying their natural growth habit. This change was influenced by changing attitudes towards nature and a desire for informality rather than formality in garden design. This occasioned a fundamental shift in the way trees were being appreciated aesthetically and was primarily instigated by the writings of William Gilpin. As Horace Walpole commented, Gilpin's 'Essay on forest trees', 'is perfectly new, truly ingenious, full of good sense in an agreeable style'.⁶⁹⁶ This 'Essay' and Gilpin's other writings established criteria by which the different morphological characteristics of trees and their aesthetics in the landscape could be judged and evaluated for their picturesque qualities. This ultimately led to all trees being judged for their ornamental value and suitability for gardens and parkland, and is evident in the writings of Wordsworth through to contemporary authors.

⁶⁹⁶ Quoted by Patrick Taylor, *Oxford Companion to the Garden* (2010), p. 192.

As a consequence of the number of conifer species and their cultivars expanding rapidly in the nineteenth century, and the novelty and variety in their morphological characteristics, they became the height of fashion and were used in all manner of ways, often for the first time. These included for avenues, hedges, topiary, specimens, shelter belts, and collections (pineta). For all these uses, the ability to differentiate between the aesthetic characteristics of species and to make informed decisions as to which conifers to plant became increasingly necessary in order to give, as advocated at the time, 'that charm of variety in form and colour'.⁶⁹⁷ It was these differences between species and their cultivars that made them suitable for different situations in gardens (Figure 12.1). However, it is apparent that by the 1900s, even though the



Figure 12.1 Differences in morphological characteristics of the genera: *Chamaecyparis* and *Picea*.

number of different species and cultivars had increased significantly compared with those present at the beginning of the century, only relatively few species were grown in gardens, with the most diversity being confined to collections in pinetums. By the 1890s, concern was being raised that conifers were no longer as fashionable as they had been. This was caused by a change in planting styles, with herbaceous plants in herbaceous borders becoming fashionable and taking precedence over conifer plantings. There was also less scope for planting conifers in the relatively smaller 'modern' gardens, the 'Old English Formal' / Arts and Crafts.

⁶⁹⁷ Baillie, Report of the RHS Conifer Conference (1890), p. 59.

12.3. The conifer plantings in Bowness after the 1880s

In Bowness, unlike the rest of the country when the heyday for conifers was in the 1840s, 1850s, and 1860s, this did not occur until after the 1880s and then continued until 1914. The planting was also condensed into a relatively small geographic area. Bowness was behind the rest of the country as a consequence of the development of the area not occurring in any significant way until after the 1860s. Although this was several years after the arrival of the railway in 1847, the latter had been crucial in spearheading and enabling this development to occur.

12.3.1. During the period when most of the development took place in Bowness, two architectural styles were prevalent. The first occurred between the 1870s and 1890s when houses, including Fallbarrow Hall and Langdale Chase, were constructed in the Gothic Revival style or, as in the case of Belsfield, were constructed in the Italianate style. These were built at a time when elsewhere in the country, these styles were going out of fashion for houses. As a consequence, there was also a delay in the creation of fashionable gardens, the Italianate garden of Belsfield being one such example.

The second style occurred after the 1880s, when houses were built in the Arts and Crafts architectural styles, examples of these being Broadleys, Blackwell, and Moorcrag, or were influenced by this style, which included Lindeth Fell. Unlike the Gothic Revival and Italianate styles, there was no delay in the uptake of either this new architectural style or the 'modern' Old English Formal /Arts and Crafts style for gardens, as both occurred in Bowness at the same time as other areas in the country. The reason behind this was that the wealthy industrialists wished to employ, and were able to afford, some of the country's best architects, such as Voysey and Ballie Scott, to design their homes. These architects were far from parochial, as they were undertaking commissions throughout the country during this period.

12.3.2. In the gardens of Langdale Chase and Fallbarrow Hall (two Gothic Revival houses), there is some evidence to indicate that larger-growing species were favoured, including Wellingtonias, western red cedars, and Douglas firs, and also unusual and previously very fashionable species such as monkey puzzles. In the 'modern' gardens, such large-growing species could not be accommodated as easily, if at all, and as a consequence, their use declined. Whilst conifers were used in the formal area in a formal manner, there is also some

evidence to indicate that the planting that occurred also favoured new cultivars. These included those that were smaller-growing (or were thought to be so) or had interesting or coloured (particularly yellow) foliage. It is difficult, however, to assess which were the most commonly planted species from extant conifers, as there appears to be a preponderance of western red cedars and Lawson cypresses (and cultivars), which may not be indicative of the species growing in the past. This may have occurred because other species, such as those in the genus *Abies*, for example *Abies procera* — noble fir, are more susceptible to disease (as indicated by those at Rydal Hall) and have already died and disappeared.⁶⁹⁸ The most informative information on the style of planting comes from photographs of the time. These indicate that conifers were being used in groups containing species with different morphological characteristics, including those with pointed or rounded crowns, narrow or wide growth habits, and different-coloured foliage.

12.3.3. With regard to who was responsible for the choice of conifer species and the manner of their plantings, it is apparent that Mawson was a significant figure. He continued to plant conifers irrespective of their fashionable status, having been usurped by herbaceous plants, and he, and the family's nursery, must have also influenced others in the area to continue planting these trees. However, whilst his designs included conifers, he did not appear to be particularly ambitious in the numbers of different species he chose, preferring instead to plant those species that were familiar to him and that he knew would do well in a particular garden, and could be supplied by the family's nursery. This may account for why his plantings in different gardens and at different times were very similar, as evident in the gardens of Langdale Chase and Lindeth Fell.

Mawson only created approximately eight gardens in Bowness, which is a relatively small number in comparison with all the gardens in Bowness. As a consequence, others must also have been responsible for planting conifers, including garden owners, gardeners, and nurserymen. As regards the latter, and although there is little evidence to substantiate this, Pattinson's nursery must have supplied and planted many of the trees on the Storrs estate and in

⁶⁹⁸ Age cannot be a factor, as very few have attained the age of those living in their native homes.

the gardens of other properties they built in the area.

12.3.4. It is apparent that all those who did plant conifers in Bowness totally ignored the views of Wordsworth, Ruskin, and Morris regarding the appropriateness of planting these trees in the area. It would also appear that although Gilpin's criteria had established a method by which the morphological characteristic of trees could be judged picturesque, there is no evidence to indicate that Mawson was directly influenced by Gilpin's opinions. Despite this, Mawson did evaluate the morphological characteristics of conifers for their suitability in gardens. This included their size, structure, shape, colour, and foliage. The variety that was available to Mawson and gardeners of the time, particularly in colour, had never been seen before, even at the beginning of the nineteenth century. What could be achieved from this is evident today in the garden of Lindeth Fell (although this is no longer composed of all the original plantings, Figure 12.2). Conifers undoubtedly changed the aesthetics of gardens, altering the colours and



Figure 12.2 Lindeth Fell — Autumn colours (2015)
Brilliant colour variation is achieved with the use of golden cultivars of *Taxus baccata* (bottom left) *Chamaecyparis* cultivars and Japanese acers. The pointed conical crowns of the conifers is also very much in evidence.

shapes they contained and their tree skylines, with the latter having changed from having predominantly rounded crowns of deciduous broad-leaved trees to the conical shapes of conifers.

12.4. Legacy

From extant conifers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, it is apparent that Mawson, and others who planted them, did not take into consideration the size to which these conifers would grow, as many now block the views of the properties to which they belong and also the vantage points, 'stations', as recommended by West. In addition, with so many conifers being planted, the aesthetics, character, and 'sense of place' of Bowness were considerably altered.⁶⁹⁹ The area changed from having predominantly broad-leaved plantings to one that had significant and abundant coniferous plantings. Today, it is difficult to judge how these original conifer plantings must have looked, as many have died or been felled, are now confined in much smaller gardens, or, as at Fallbarrow Hall, are hemmed in by buildings rather than being in open parkland. However, the difference the presence or absence of conifers can make is clearly apparent when a number of conifers in the car park adjacent to Windermere Library — once part of the garden of a private residence, Ellerthwaite — were felled in 2017 (Figure 12.3).



Figure 12.3 A row of *Thuja plicata* — western red cedar (2016), felled in 2017. The car park is adjacent to Windermere Library (formerly Ellerthwaite).

The difference various tree species can make to a landscape is also evident when a comparison is made between an engraving by Thomas Picken in 1859 and a contemporary

⁶⁹⁹ Ian Thompson 'Gardens, Parks and Sense of Place, Making Sense of Place', ed. by Convery et al. (London: 2014), p. 159.

photograph. In the latter the presence of conifers (indicated by their conical shape) is noticeable, in particular those in Fallbarrow Holiday Park (Figures 12.4 & 12.5). The presence and



Figure 12.4 'Windermere as seen from Orrest Head' by T. Picken (1859).

A train is depicted (X) leaving Windermere station, but as yet the area is still undeveloped, with Bowness having the appearance of a village, and only a few isolated villas being depicted.

No conifers can be discerned in this engraving. However, within the next fifty years, a considerable proportion of the area, seen to the left of Lake Windermere, would be developed, and thousands of introduced conifers planted in gardens, creating a very different landscape.



Figure 12.5 Lake Windermere and surrounding area as seen looking south from Orrest Head (2017).

Today, the landscape has considerably more tree cover, which hides much of the development that has taken place since 1859. Forestry plantations blanket the western slopes, whereas on the eastern side of the lake, many thousands of conifers have been planted in gardens, their presence (X) evident from their conical crowns.

dominance of conifers are also very evident in two photographs, one of Merewood and the other of Cragwood (Figure 12.6).



Figure 12.6. Conifers surrounding Cragwood (top) and Merewood (below) (c. 1980s).

In the past, Wordsworth and others have voiced their concern over the development of the area, including the impact of the new homes and gardens that were created. However, the latter is not always seen as a negative occurrence today. This is apparent in the

Nomination Document of the English Lake District, which states:

The English Lake District is one of the best surviving examples of a rural landscape that was valued for its picturesque qualities and subsequently improved with the additions of villas and landscape gardens,⁷⁰⁰ [and in addition that there is] a fusion between a natural landscape, distinctive communal farming system and fine examples of villas, picturesque planting and gardens.⁷⁰¹

Whilst this document does mention gardens and 'picturesque planting', it fails to mention conifers specifically. This is an omission, as the impact they had, not only on the gardens in the area but on the aesthetics of the landscape as a whole, was considerable. The presence of these conifers also reflected the social and cultural changes that occurred in Bowness at this time, with society changing from local people to affluent offcomers dominating the social scene and cultural landscape.

Of the six factors, the two most significant for the planting of conifers were the arrival of the offcomers as a consequence of the Industrial Revolution, and Mawson working in the area and influencing other gardeners. However, without any one of the six factors, the planting of conifers would not have occurred in Bowness. As a consequence, it was all the factors combining concurrently that created an exceptional and unique collection of ornamental coniferous plantings in Bowness during the latter decades of the nineteenth century and the first decade of the twentieth, the legacy of which remains today.

⁷⁰⁰ *Nomination Document*, p. 128.

⁷⁰¹ *Ibid.*, p. 78.

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WDB 86/9/15/2 'Fellside' Windermere

APPENDICES

I

Exotic conifers — dates of introduction

&

Native species and their cultivars — dates of introduction

II

Changes in nomenclature for the more notable conifer species mentioned in the text

III

Locations mentioned in the text

APPENDIX I Exotic conifers — dates of introduction

For completeness, the dates of the introduction of species after 1914 are included

AM = Alan Mitchell (1974), M & W = Alan Mitchell and John Wilkinson (1982),

J & M = Owen Johnson & David More (2004) as compared with

Veitch's *Manual of the Coniferae* (1883) and (1900)

Introductions before 1100

Cupressus sempervirens — Mediterranean Cypress
(or later see below)

E. Mediterranean, north to Switzerland,
east to Iran.

Twelfth century

Thirteenth century

Picea abies — Norway Spruce

See below under sixteenth-century introductions.

Most of Europe but not Britain (M&W).

From the Pyrenees to the Balkans, across
Scandinavia, the Baltic and western
Russia merging eastwards into *P.*

obovata — Siberian spruce areas:
southern Scandinavia, to central &
southern Europe. (AM)

Fourteenth century

c. 1375 ***Cupressus sempervirens*** — Mediterranean Cypress
(or reintroduction).

E. Mediterranean, north to Switzerland,
east to Iran

Fifteenth century

Sixteenth century

Pre-1500 ***Picea abies*** — Norway Spruce (Henry Daniel date?)

Britain (AM) (date uncertain — see
above)

Over 350 named cultivars. (World Conifer Data Pool)

1741 'Viminalis'

1836 'Pendula'

'Pyramidata'

1855 'Cranstonii'

'Inversa'

Belgian selection.

1868 'Pendula major'

1891 'Argentea' was originally a German clone but is now confused
with numerous similar sports.

1897 'Cincinnata'

1908 'Cupressina'

1956 'Will's Zwerg'

German selection.

1972 'Laxa'

Royal Botanic Gardens Kew.

'Finedonensis'

<i>Pinus pinea</i> — Stone Pine (umbrella pine)	North coast of the Mediterranean. Pre-1500 (AM) or c. 1536 into Europe c. 1596 into Britain. (M&W)
1536 or 96 <i>Thuja occidentalis</i> — White Cedar or American Arbor Vitae, Eastern Canada to New York State. First Thuja to reach Europe (Paris) — not successful in European plantations.	
Cultivars: there are approximately 300 named varieties, cultivars, and forms.	
1804 'Wareana'	Named after G. Weare (Coventry) but produced in Germany.
1865 'Fastigiata'	Originally produced in Germany.
1884 'Wareana Lutescens'	Hesse Nursery, Germany.
1891 'Douglasii Pyramidalis'	Obtained by the Spath Nursery in Germany from the Arnold Arboretum.
? 'Waxen'	Also from the Arnold Arboretum.
Pre-1873 'Lutea'	Maxwell's Nursery, New York.
1901 'Filiformis'	Produced in Germany.
1923 'Spiralis'	Origin uncertain — possibly Atkins Nursery, New Jersey.
1965 'Holmstrup Yellow'	Discovered by Asker Jensen.
'Rheingold'	
1548 <i>Pinus picea</i> — Stone Pine, Umbrella Pine	Mediterranean.
Pre-1596 <i>Pinus pinaster</i> — Maritime Pine	Coast of central and west Mediterranean, Southern Europe and North Africa.
Not described until 1789 by the English Botanist William Aiton.	
ssp. <i>atlantica</i> — Portuguese maritime pine	

Seventeenth century

1603 <i>Abies alba</i> — Silver Fir.	Central and south-east Europe, especially Vosges, Jura, and Black Mountains.
Cultivars:	
1851 'Pyramidalis'	Britain.
1859 'Columnaris'	France.
1620 <i>Larix decidua</i> — European Larch.	Alps from Savoy to Tyrol and east near to Vienna, and Carpathian Mountains.
c. 1630(8) <i>Cedrus libani</i> — Cedar of Lebanon.	Mount Lebanon, Syria; south-east Turkey. (M&W 1683)
Cultivars; most of the nineteenth-century cultivars were produced in France.	

- 1855 'Glaucā'
- 1868 'Aurea'
- 1640 ***Taxodium distichum*** — Swamp Cypress. Delaware to Texas and up the Mississippi to Missouri (south-east USA).
- 1664 ***Juniperus virginiana*** — Pencil Cedar. East and central North America. (Quebec to Texas — AM)
- Named by Linnaeus in 1753.
- Cultivars:
- 1852 'Pendula'
- Now a group name for several similar clones. These have arisen as seedlings and sports since this date.
- 1855 'Glaucā'
- 1868 'Canaertii'
- 1932 'Pseudocupressus'
- 'Burkii' ('Burk red cedar')
- 'Cupressifolia'
- 1945 'Cupressifolia' (given the same name as the above.)
- 1680(2) ***Cupressus lusitanica*** — Mexican Cypress or Cedar of Goa Mexico, Guatemala.
- 1838 **var. benthamii** — Bentham cypress (named and described in 1867.)
- 1910 'Glaucā'
- 1925 'Glaucā Pendula'
- Thuja orientalis*** — Chinese Thuja. North and west China.
- 1683 ***Pinus halepensis*** — Aleppo Pine Mediterranean (Syria).
- First described in 1768 by Philip Miller, Director of the later named Chelsea Physic Garden.
- ? ***Pinus brutia*** — Calabrian Pine Eastern Mediterranean.
- Once treated as a variety of *P. halepensis*.

Eighteenth century

- 1700 ***Picea mariana*** — Black Spruce Canada, except tundra area, and northern USA.
- Picea glauca*** — White Spruce Canada, Alaska, and northern USA.
- 1701 ***Cunninghamia lanceolata*** — Chinese Fir China.
- First discovered on this date but not introduced into Europe until 1804 when William Kerr brought the tree (seeds?) from Canton (see under date 1804).
- 1705 ***Pinus strobus*** — Weymouth pine, or Eastern white pine Eastern North America, Newfoundland to Georgia.
- Possibly named after either Lord Weymouth, of Longleat, who advocated the species in the early 1700s, or Captain George Weymouth RN, who, in 1605, brought the tree to Britain from Maine.

Numerous ornamental forms:

1884 'Fastigiata'

1923 'Radiata'

1932 'Contorta'

1736 ***Chamaecyparis thyoides*** — White Cypress, White Cedar, Swamp Cedar

Central Maine south to northern Florida
and Mississippi.

Introduced by Peter Collinson.

1847 'Glauca'

1831 (described in 1855) 'Variegata'

1736 ***Tsuga canadensis*** — Eastern Hemlock-spruce

North America from Nova Scotia to
southern Ontario and southwards to
northern Alabama and Minnesota.

Since its introduction, the species has provided a large number of cultivated trees:

1864 'Microphylla'

1891 'Pendula'

'Sargentii'

'Taxifolia'

1930 'Macrophylla'

'Aurea' — golden eastern hemlock (now comes in many different forms)

1739 ***Larix laricina*** — Tamarack or Hackmatack.

Alaska to Newfoundland, south to
Minnesota.

The 'eastern larch' of North America.

Juniperus oxycedrus — Prickly Juniper

North Mediterranean coast to
western Asia.

1741 ***Pinus taeda*** — Loblolly Pine.

North America.

1743 ***Pinus rigida*** — (Northern) Pitch Pine.

Southern Maine to New York State,
then south to Georgia.

1746 ***Pinus cembra*** — Arolla Pine, Swiss Stone Pine

Central European Alps, north-east
Russia, Carpathians, northern Asia.

Many cultivated forms;

1868 'Aureovariegata'

1899 **var. *chlorocarpa***

1750 ***Ginkgo biloba*** — Maidenhair Tree.

Southern China.

1752 ***Thuja orientalis*** — Chinese thuja or oriental thuja
cultivars:

China

1860 'Elegantissima'

? 'Bonita'

1756 ***Pinus resinosa*** — Red Pine

Eastern North America; Nova
Scotia to Pennsylvania.

Closely related to the European Scots pine. Very common North
American species.

- 1759 ***Pinus nigra* var. *maritima*** — Corsican Pine Corsica, southern Italy, Sicily.
P. nigra* ssp. *laricio (M&W)
 Introduced by Philip Miller. In forestry circles still generally known as **var. *maritima***.
- 1764 ***Torreya nucifera*** — Japanese Nutmeg Japan.
 Discovered in 1712 by the physician and plant hunter Engelbert Kaempfer. Not named until 1846.
- Pre-1775 ***Picea rubens*** — Red Spruce Nova Scotia to north-eastern USA.
- 1776 ***Sciadopitys verticillata*** — Japanese Umbrella Pine Southern Japan.
 Discovered by outsiders in 1776 and introduced into Britain in 1853 by Thomas Lobb. Fossil evidence suggests the species was once very widespread.
- Pre-1783 ***Pinus banksiana*** — Jack Pine East Canada, near Arctic Circle to Lake States. Grows further north than any other conifer in Arctic Canada. Pioneer species. Needs a forest fire for the cones to open.
- 1789 ***Taxodium ascendens*** — Pond Cypress Coastal plains — Louisiana, Virginia to Alabama USA.
 1789 'Nutans'
- 1790 ***Pinus nigra* var. *caramanica*** — Crimean Pine Crimea; Asia Minor.
P. nigra* ssp. *pallasiana
- 1791 (1793) ***Xanthocyparis nootkatensis*** — Nootka Cypress
 Archibald Menzies, first European to discover it, but not introduced until 1853.
- 1791 ***Juniperus drupaceae*** — Syrian Juniper South-west Asia and south-east Europe.
 Brought into cultivation in 1854.
- 1794 ***Araucaria heterophylla*** — Norfolk Island Pine Norfolk Island.
Boronia pinnata. Tasmania, Australia.
- 1795(6) ***Araucaria araucana*** — monkey puzzle tree, Chile pine Chile, Argentina.

Nineteenth century

- 1800 ***Juniperus excelsa*** — Grecian Juniper Mountainous areas in south-west Europe, Asia Minor, and the Caucasus.
- 1803 ***Pinus sibirica*** — Siberian Stone Pine Ural Mountains eastwards across Siberia and into northern China.
- 1804 ***Cunninghamia lanceolata*** — Chinese Fir South and west China (see under 1701).
Juniperus chinensis — Chinese Juniper China, Japan.
 Cultivars:

- 1855 'Aurea' named in 1865
 1910 'Keteleeri' (Belgium)
 1920 'Kaizuka'
 1930 'Obelisk' named and introduced in 1946
- 1937 named in 1948 'Iowa'
 1887 (Pre-) 'Jacobiana'
 ? 'Variegata' This name now covers a whole range of old
 named forms.
- 1806 ***Larix russica*** — Siberian Larch North-east Russia and western Siberia.
- 1811 ***Abies fraseri*** — Fraser's Fir Great Smoky Mountains, South
 west Virginia, western North Carolina,
 and eastern Tennessee, USA.
 Discovered by the first European, John Fraser, in 1811 and named
 in 1817.
- 1818 ***Picea smithiana*** — Morinda or West Himalayan Spruce Kashmir to Nepal and west to
 Afghanistan.
 First grown at Hopetoun House in Scotland. After some
 debate and name changes, it was finally described in 1884.
- 1820 ***Abies sibirica*** — Siberian Fir N. Russia; Turkmen; Siberia.
- 1822 ***Abies spectabilis*** (*Abies webbiana*) — Himalayan Fir Afghanistan to Bhutan at higher
 elevations than *A. pindrow* and
 spreading farther east.
 1919 var. 'brevifolia' Alfred Rehder
- 1823 ***Pinus wallichiana*** — Blue Pine (Bhutan Pine) or western Himalayan pine
 Afghanistan to Nepal.
 Once known as *P. excelsa* and for a time as *P. griffithii*. The old
 name Bhutan pine now describes *P. bhutanica*, a recently
 described close relative.
- 1824 ***Cupressus torulosa*** — Bhutan Cypress W. Himalaya and W. China.
Abies cephalonica — Grecian Fir Island of Cephalonica to
 mountains of northern Greece
 (one of several segregates of European silver fir).
- 1826 ***Larix occidentalis*** — Western Larch Western North America between
 the Cascade and Rocky Mountains in
 British Columbia, Oregon, and Idaho.
 Known locally (like the Tamarack larch) as Hackmatack.
 Discovered by the first European, David Douglas, on the
 Columbia River in 1826 (see under date 1881).
- 1827 ***Pseudotsuga menziesii*** — Douglas Fir or Oregon Pine N. British Columbia to N. California
 and Rocky Mountains to Mexico.

Discovered by the first European, Archibald Menzies, at Nootka Sound in British Columbia in 1792, introduced into Europe 35 years later by David Douglas.

Species split into two varieties:

var. menziessi

var. glauca

Over 120 cultivated forms of Douglas fir had been recognized by 1993. Many of these had arisen from 'witches' brooms' and so have stunted growth. Some of the blue needled varieties are very attractive.

Cultivars:

1871 'Stairii'

1905 'Fretsii'

Dutch origin

1930s 'Brevifolia'

British origin

Pinus lambertiana — Sugar Pine

West Oregon to Baja California,

Named the 'King of Pines' by American lumbermen. Species discovered by the first European, David Douglas, in 1826 and named to honour A. B. Lambert, secretary of the Royal Horticultural Society, London.

Larix gmelinii — Dahurian Larch

Eastern Siberia, east of River Yenisei, northern China.

var. japonica — Kurile Larch

Sakhalin Island.

1828 ***Pinus ponderosa*** — Ponderosa pine or western Yellow pine or Blackjack pine

Rocky Mountains, southern British Columbia to Mexico.

Already well known by Native Americans when it was 'discovered' by Lewis and Clark in 1804, described by David Douglas in 1826. He also sent seed back to Britain, after which the first plants appeared in 1827.

1828 ***Tsuga heterophylla*** — Western Hemlock

Along the Pacific coast from Alaska, the Rocky Mountains to north of California.

Discovered by the first European, David Douglas, but not brought to Europe until 1852.

Only one cultivar; 1968 'Laursen's Column'.

1829 ***Cephalotaxus harringtonia*** — Plum Yew

Origin unknown — possibly China, or Japan.

Introduced to the west in 1829 and given its present name in 1873.

1829 **var. drupaceae** — cowtail pine (cow's tail pine) Central China, Japan.

1830 **var. nana**

Japan.

Cultivar:	
1830 'Fastigiata'	Japan.
1830 <i>Abies grandis</i> — Giant or Grand Fir	North Vancouver Island, southern British Columbia south along the Pacific sea board to California. Separate inland population occurs in the Rocky Mountains, centred on Idaho, plus others in eastern Oregon.
Discovered by the first European, David Douglas, in 1825 on the Columbia River and introduced into Britain by him in 1830. By 1883, it was considered to be one of the best trees to grow in Scotland.	
<i>Abies procera</i> — Noble Fir	Cascade Mountains in Oregon and Washington State.
Discovered by the first European, David Douglas, in 1825 on the south side of the Colombia River. Significant ornamental tree and after 1919 as a forest tree.	
f. <i>glauca</i>	
‡ 1830 <i>Abies amabilis</i> — Beautiful or Red Fir	British Columbia to Oregon.
1839 discovered by David Douglas.	
<i>Juniperus recurva</i> — Drooping Juniper	East Himalaya, Burma, China.
Described 1825 introduced 1861, Veitch Nurseries.	
<i>Picea sitchensis</i> — Sitka Spruce	Kodiak Island in Alaska to Caspar in Mendocino County, California, in a narrow strip along the coast. Best-developed specimens — on the Olympic Peninsula, Washington, where many are 80 m tall.
<i>Pinus contorta</i> — Beach Pine, Lodgepole Pine, Shore Pine	N.W. America.
<i>Pinus monticola</i> — Western White Pine	British Columbia to Montana and California. Grows on both sides of the Rocky Mountains.
<i>Cedrus deodara</i> — Deodar	Western Himalayas and Afghanistan.
cultivars:	
1852 'Robusta'	Britain.
1866 'Argentea'	France.
1887 'Verticillata'	France.
1866 'Aurea'	Britain.
1899 'Albospice'	Ireland.
Pre-1900 'Pendula'	
1986 'Gold Mound'	Canada.

- 1832 ***Pinus coulteria*** — Big-cone Pine, South-west California, Mexico.
The Irish botanist Thomas Coulter discovered big-cone pine in 1831. It was described and brought into cultivation in 1836.
- Pinus sabiniana*** — Digger Pine California.
Name refers to the Digger Indians, a collective term for all Californian Indians, who used to dig up the fibrous roots of this pine and also ate the seeds. Introduced into Europe by David Douglas.
- Pinus gerardiana*** — Chilgoza Pine Dry valleys and mountain sides in the Himalayas.
- 1833 ***Pinus radiata*** — Monterey Pine Small, isolated localities along the Californian coast and Guadeloupe Island.
Discovered by the first European, David Douglas, in 1831. Seed taken to Chiswick, London, the following year. Consignments continued to arrive in England until 1851.
- 1834 ***Thuja koraiensis*** — Korean Thuja Korea.
Described in 1834. Introduced 1917.
- 1835 ***Pinus nigra* var. *nigra*** — Austrian pine Central and southern Europe — from the Atlantic to western Asia.
ssp. *nigra* (M&W)
Date of introduction uncertain because so many early introductions have turned out to be Corsican pine.
- 1836 ***Pinus hartwegii*** — Hartweg Pine High volcanic slopes in Mexico, Guatemala and north-west El Salvador.
Collected and sent to London by Theodor Hartweg.
- Juniperus squamata*** — Flaky Juniper Himalayas, China, Formosa.
1908 var. *fargesii*
1914 'Meyer'
- Pre-1837 ***Pinus patula*** — Mexican Pine Mexico.
1831 (M&W)
- 1837 ***Abies pindrow*** — Pindrow Fir, West Himalayan Fir Himalayas from Afghanistan to western Nepal.
var. *intermedia*
var. *brevifolia*
Picea orientalis (see date 1839 AM)
- 1838 ***Cupressus macrocarpa*** — Monterey Cypress On the low cliffs at cypress Point and Point Lobos, Monterey, California.
1873 'Horizontalis Aurea'
Pre-1940 'Donard Gold'
1948 'Goldcrest'
- Abies religiosa*** — Sacred Fir Tresder Nurseries of Truro, Cornwall.
Southern Mexico and northern Guatemala.

- Tsuga dumosa*** — Himalayan Hemlock North-west India and China, eastern Himalayas.
- 1839 ***Abies pinsapo*** — Spanish or Hedgehog Fir Ronda, southern Spain.
Cultivar; 1867 'Glauca'
- Picea orientalis*** — Oriental Spruce Caucasus and north-east Asia Minor.
Introduced into Europe c. 1837, described 1847 (M&W)
Over 50 named cultivars:
1873 'Aurea' German selection.
1903 'Gracilis' Belgium selection.
- 1839 ***Pinus montezumae*** — Montezuma Pine Central Mexico southwards to Guatemala.
Named in honour of Montezuma, the last ruler of the Aztec empire until 1520. The species is rare because it is tender.
var. *hartwegii* now classified as a separate species (see date 1836).
- Juniperus occidentalis*** — Western or Sierra Juniper Mountains of western North America, particularly California.
- Larix × pendula*** — **weeping larch**
Peter Collinson (1694–1768), plant botanist and collector, the first to grow this tree? (M&W)
- Arthrotaxis selaginoides*** — King William pine West Tasmania.
Temperate rainforest species. Described by David Don, Professor of Botany in London, in 1839.
- 1840 ***Pinus ayacahuite*** — Mexican White Pine Southern Mexico to Guatemala.
Named and described by Christian Ehrenberg, Professor of Botany in Berlin and by Diederich von Schlechtendal from Halle-Saale.
var. *veitchii* Central Mexico.
This variety is the tree most often seen in temperate collections and plantations. Many planted specimens credited with the species name ayacahuite should probably be listed as this variety. It is one of the parents of Holford's pine. Benedikt Roezl, an Austrian botanist working in Central America, originally classified it as a species, *Pinus veitchii*. Herbert Airy Shaw, working at Kew Gardens, much later confirmed its variety status in 1909. In 1987, Keith Rushforth suggested that this taxon might be better treated as a subspecies of *Pinus strobiformis*. A confusing situation prevails.
- 1841 ***Cedrus atlantica*** — Atlas or Algerian Cedar Atlas Mountains in Algeria and Morocco.
Discovered by the first European in 1827, and described in 1844 by the eminent Italian gardener, Giuseppe Manetti.

Cultivars;

1845 'Glauca' (or f.)

1890 'Fastigiata'

1900 'Glauca Pendula'

France.

'Aurea'

Dutch.

1842 ***Cryptomeria japonica*** — This species is split between Japanese and Chinese varieties:

Cryptomeria japonica — Japanese Red Cedar China, Japan (from the latter in 1861).

Cultivars:

1854 'Elegans' Japan (Thomas Lobb for Veitch Nursery).

18791 'Pyramidata' France (Pallet Nursery near Paris).

1901 'Cristata' Japan to Germany.

1928 'Yoshino' Japan (Yokohama Nursery).

1937 (named in 1949) 'Aurescens' Dutch origin — Blijdenstein Pinetum.

1875 'Lycopodioides' Japan ('Ikari-sugi' or 'Kusari-sugi')
imported into France (Mazel Nursery) and named. 'Viminalis'
(European form still called 'Lycopodioides' meaning like a wolf's
foot).

1877 'Compacta' France. Name later given in Britain
(1977) to a completely different cultivar.

1923 'Selaginoides' Rovelli Nursery, Italy,
indistinguishable from 'Viminalis'

1970 'Sekkan' Japanese origin but raised in
America.

1842 ***Cryptomeria fortunei*** — Chinese Red Cedar. Central and southern China.

Introduced by Sir Edward Hume and named as var. *sinensis* in
1844.

Cultivars:

1853 'Lobbii' Sent from Java to England by Thomas
Lobb.

1861 'Pungens' Sent from Japan to England by
Robert Fortune who worked there with John Gould Veitch and
Philipp von Siebold.

1867 'Dacrydioides' Japan.

1941 'Ashio-sugi'

1843 ***Sequoia sempervirens*** — Coastal Redwood Narrow belt by the coast Oregon
to south of Monterey, California
(introduced via Russia).

25 named cultivars including:

1867 'Adpressa' (now thought to be a variant of 'Albospice', which only
dates back to 1903).

- 1997 'Cantab' Cambridge University Botanic Garden.
- 1846 *Pinus bungeana* — Lacebark Pine North-west China.
Popular for temple gardens in China and Korea.
- Pinus muricata* — Bishop Pine Scattered, small colonies on the coast of California and adjacent islands (Santa Cruz and Santa Rosa).
The 'blue' form is considerably hardier than the 'green' form, the latter barely surviving north of the southern coast of Ireland and south-west of England.
- 1847 *Podocarpus nubigenus* — Chilean Totara Argentina.
Saxegothaea conspicua — Prince Albert's Yew Chile, Argentina.
Austrocedrus chilensis — Chilean Incense Cedar Chile, Argentina.
Pinus attenuata — Knobcone Pine Hills of California, south Oregon, parts of Mexico.
One of the 'closed cone pines' — requires great heat to liberate any seed — usually by way of a forest fire.
- 1848 *Cephalotaxus fortunei* — Chinese Cowtail Pine Central China.
Cupressus goveniana — Gowen Cypress Two small groves near Monterey, California.
Abies nordmanniana — Caucasian Fir or Crimean Fir west Caucasus; north-east Turkey.
1883 **var. equi-trojani**, which should be called **A. cephalonica var. graeca** — Apollo fir
Cultivars:
1891 'Aurea' Germany.
Larix griffithiana — Sikkim Larch Sikkim, Nepal, Bhutan, Tibet.
Introduced by Sir Joseph Hooker, Kew Botanic Gardens.
Arthrotaxis cupressoides — Smooth Tasmanian Cedar West Tasmania.
(1857?) *Arthrotaxis laxifolia* — Summit Cedar West Tasmania.
- 1849 *Fitzroya cupressoides* — Patagonian Cypress or Alerce Chile, Argentina.
Cephalotaxus fortunei — Chinese Plum Yew China.
Introduced by Robert Fortune.
Juniperus wallichiana — Wallich juniper Himalayan Mountains.
Introduced by Sir Joseph Hooker.
- 1850 *Tsuga caroliniana* — Carolina Hemlock Eastern United States — limited area, south-west Virginia, north-east Tennessee, and just into Carolina.
Described and named by Georg Englemann from St. Louis in 1881 (see date 1886 AM).
- 1851 *Torreya californica* — California Nutmeg North Coast Range and Central Sierra Nevada. California.

- 1851 ***Abies magnifica*** — Red Fir High elevations — cascade Mountains and through the Sierra Nevada to central California.
Named by Albert Murray in 1863.
- Tsuga heterophylla*** — Western Hemlock S.W. Alaska to Siskiyou Mts. and Coast Range of Mendocino County.
- Tsuga* × *jeffreyi*** — Jeffrey's Hybrid Hemlock Not known in the wild until very recently — Washington 1968 and British Columbia 1970 (see date 1919).
- Pinus flexis*** — Limber Pine From south-east British Columbia and Alberta to New Mexico in the foothills of the Rocky Mountains where it grows to elevations of 3600 m.
- 1852 ***Pinus balfouriana*** — Fox-tail Pine North Coast Range and Central Sierra Nevada (AM), limited area of northern California — dry rocky hillsides in the Klamath Mountains. (W&M)
- 1852 ***Pinus jeffreyi*** — Jeffrey Pine, Western Yellow Pine South-west Oregon to southern California at above 1500 m.
Named after the Scottish botanist John Jeffrey who discovered it and sent seed back to Britain in 1852. Often confused with Ponderosa pine
- Pseudolarix amabilis*** — Golden Larch South-east China.
Introduced by Robert Fortune after one of his trips to China looking for tea plants. Not successfully grown until 1860?
- Picea obovata*** — Siberian Spruce European Russia to East Siberia.
Described by Carl von Ledebur in 1833 and brought into cultivation in 1852 (1908 AM). Closely related to Norway spruce — some authorities regard it as a subspecies — *Picea abies* ssp. *obovata*. Also crosses freely with Finnish spruce (*Picea* × *fennica*) in Finland and Scandinavia.
- 1853 ***Sequoiadendron giganteum*** — Giant Redwood, Wellingtonia Sierra Nevada, California.
Cultivars:
1856 'Aureovariegatum' Ireland.
1871 'Pendulum' France.
- Podocarpus salignus*** — Willow Podocarp Chile.
- Calocedrus decurrens*** — Incense Cedar Mid-Oregon to southern California.
- Sciadopitys verticillata*** — Japanese Umbrella Pine Japan.
(It was only in 1860s when successfully introduced; see date 1776)
- Abies bracteata*** — Santa Lucia Fir Pacific edge, Santa Lucia Mountains, Monterey, Southern California.

1853 ***Thuja plicata*** — Western Red-cedar Alaska to California, east to Idaho.
 Discovered in the 1790s by the first European, William Lobb,
 and first named after him, *T. lobbii*.

Cultivars:

1868 'Aurea' France.

c. 1900 'Zebrina'

1923 'Semperaurescens'

1987 'Zebrina Extra Gold'

Developed in Ireland

1854 ***Juniperus drupacea*** — Syrian Juniper

Greece, Asia Minor, and Syria.

Tsuga mertensiana — Mountain Hemlock

Alaska to Sierra Nevada,
 California.

Chamaecyparis lawsoniana — Lawson's Cypress

West North America.

A species that had probably produced more cultivars than any other, including:

1862 'Aurea'

1855 'Erecta'

♀ 'Erecta Aurea'

♀ 'Blue Jacket'

1869 'Intertexta'

Lawson's Nurseries, Edinburgh. In
 cultivation in 1872.

1867 'Erecta Viridis'

c. 1870 'Lutea'

1870 'Pendula'

Named in 1891.

Pre-1874 'Youngii'

1878 'Filiformis' (1877)

1888 'Wisselii' (1893)

'Stricta'

1890 'Allumii'

'Westermanii'

'Triompf van Boskop' (1895)

'Lycopodioides'

1891 'Fraseri'

1896 'Erecta Filiformis'

1900 'Pottenii'

'Youngii'

'Stewartii'

Stewarts Nursery, Bournemouth (1920).

1904 'Lombartsii'

1910 'Hillieri'

1911 of 13 'Fletcheri'

1920 'Kestonensis'

Some authorities suggest this name should not be
 used owing to confusion over which cultivar it is.

1923 'Pottenii'

'Tamariscifolia'

	1925 'Glauca Lombartsii'	First described by this date
	1929 'Ellwoodii'	
	1931 'Golden King'	
	1934 'Moerheimii'	
	1937 'Stricta Glauca'	
	1938 'Green Pillar'	
	1939 'Green Hedge'	
	1940 'Columnaris'	
	1941 'Holland'	
	1945 'Winston Churchill' (1965)	
	Pre-1947 'Green Spire'	
	1951 'Kilmacurragh'	
	1967 'Somerset'	
	Pre-1968 'Silver Tip'	
	1968 'Henry Dinger'	
	'Ellwood's Gold'	
	1971 'Grayswood Pillar'	
	'Chilworth Silver'	
	1975 'Albo-spica'	Identical to 'Argenteovariegata'
	1989 'Slocock'	
	? 'Elegantissima'	
1853	<i>Pseudolarix amabilis</i> — Golden Larch	South-east China.
	<i>Podocarpus salignus</i> — Willow-leaf Podocarp	Chile.
	<i>Xanthocyparis nootkatensis</i> (<i>Chamaecyparis nootkatensis</i>) — Nootka Cypress	Alaska to north Oregon.
	Cultivars:	
	1873 'Variegata'	
	1884 'Pendula'	
	1891 'Lutea'	
	<i>Pinus contorta</i> var. <i>latifolia</i> — Lodgepole Pine var.	Northern, inland British Columbia to Washington and Eastern Rocky Mountains to Colorado.
1854	<i>Pinus densiflora</i> — Japanese Red Pine	Japan, Korea, northern China, and along the Pacific coast of Russia.
	Three important cultivars (all described in 1890 by Heinrich Mayr, professor of botany in Munich):	
	'Aurea'	
	'Oculus-draconis'	
	'Umbraculifera'	
1855	<i>Taxus cuspidata</i> — Japanese Yew	Japan.
	<i>Torreya grandis</i>	Eastern China.
	The first European to discover this tree was Robert Fortune.	

- Abies cilicia*** — Cilician Fir East Asia Minor.
- Pinus rudis*** — Endlicher Pine High, cool mountainous regions of central and northern Mexico. Many of the early so-called Montezuma pines in cultivation are this species. The last original specimen known in England, at Westonbirt Arboretum, died in 1963. New material has since been imported. Alaska to northern California
- Pinus contorta*** — Beach or Shore Pine
Three distinct geographic races:
Pinus contorta* var. *contorta Pacific coast of Alaska, western Canada and the USA south to northern California.
- 1854 ***Pinus contorta* var. *latifolia*** — Lodgepole Pine
Northern, inland British Columbia to Washington.
eastern Rocky Mountains to Colorado.
- 1853 ***Pinus contorta* var. *murrayana*** — Sierra Lodgepole Pine
Oregon Cascades and California south to Mexico.
- 1857 ***Arthrotaxis selaginoides*** — King William Pine Western Tasmania.
Temperate rainforest species. Described in 1839 by David Don, Professor of botany, London. Introduced earlier?
- Arthrotaxis cupressoides*** — Smooth Tasmanian Cedar Western Tasmania.
Described in 1839, introduced 1848. (M&W)
- Arthrotaxis laxifolia*** — Summit Cedar or Tasmanian Cedar Western Tasmania. (Introduced earlier)
- 1858 ***Larix lyallii*** — Subalpine Larch British Columbia to Alberta and south to Washington
Discovered by the first European, David Lyall, a Scottish surgeon.
- 1859, 1861 ***Thujopsis dolabrata*** — Hiba Japan.
Cultivars:
? 'Variegata'
1866 'Aurea'
- 1860 ***Podocarpus andinus*** — Plum-fruited Yew Southern Chile.
- Thuja standishii*** — Japanese Thuja or Japanese Arbor Vitae Japan.
Introduced by Standish Nurseries.
- Abies gamblei*** — Gamble Fir Himalayas.
One of a series of closely related Himalayan silver firs. This one was originally considered to be a variety of *A. pindrow*. Named in 1929.
- 1861 ***Juniperus rigida*** — Temple Juniper Japan, Korea, northern China.

- Described in 1825 but not introduced by Veitch Nurseries until 1861
- Juniperus recurva*** — Drooping Juniper, Himalayan Juniper. Eastwards to Pacific coast and Japan.
Introduced by Veitch Nurseries.
- var. *coxii*** Burma and south-west China.
1965 'Castlewellan' Irish cultivar
- Larix kaempferi*** — Japanese larch Honshu Island, Japan.
Planted all over the cool temperate world. First introduced by Veitch Nursery but shunned for the next 30 years in favour of the European larch.
Cultivar; 1896 'Pendula'
- Abies homolepis*** — Nikko Fir Southern and central Japan.
Named in 1842.
Cultivar; 1909 'Tomomi'
- Abies firma*** (*Abies bifida*) — Momi Fir Honshu southwards to Kyushu and Shikoku, Japan.
Closely related to Nikko fir. Introduced by John Gould Veitch.
- Picea polita*** — Tiger-tail Spruce Japan.
- Picea bicolor*** — Alcock's Spruce Japan.
- Pinus koraiensis*** — Korean Pine North-east Asia.
Close relative of Arolla Pine.
Many cultivated plants including:
1887 'Variegata' — described in 1890.
- Pinus thunbergii*** — Japanese Black Pine Japan, South Korea.
A favourite subject for bonsai for which numerous variants have been selected.
- Pinus parviflora*** — Japanese White Pine Japan.
Described in 1844.
Cultivars;
1909 'Glauca',
1969 'Tempelhof'
1982 'Saphir'.
- Pinus virginiana*** — scrub pine South-eastern United States from New York to Alabama and the Mississippi Basin.
- Chamaecyparis obtusa*** — Hinoki Cypress Japan.
Cultivars:
1860 'Aurea' Japan.
Introduced by Robert Fortune.
1861 'Filicoides'
1861 'Lycopodioides'
1876 'Tetragona Aurea' (c. 1870)

- 1901 'Crippsii' (raised before 1899)
- Chamaecyparis pisifera*** — Sawara Cypress Japan.
Introduced by Robert Fortune.
- Cultivars:
- 1843 'Squarrosa' There are numerous 'Squarrosa' cultivars of every size, shape, and colour from silvery green to yellow ('Squarrosa Aurea')
- 1861 'Aurea'
- 1861 'Plumosa' (1867) Japanese tree.
Introduced by John Gould Veitch
- ? 'Plumosa Aurea'
- 'Filifera'
- 1889 'Filifera Aurea'
- 1900 'Gold Spangles' sport of 'Filifera Aurea'
- 1934 'Boulevard'
- 1975 'Strathmore', may be identical to the lost cultivar 'Aurea Nana' (1891).
-
- Tsuga sieboldii*** — Southern Japanese Hemlock Southern Japan.
- Tsuga diversifolia*** — Northern Japanese Hemlock North and central Japan.
- Pinus parviflora*** — Japanese White Pine Japan.
- 1862 ***Abies numidica*** — Algerian Fir Mount Babor, north-east Algeria
on lime-rich mountain sides.
Brought into cultivation in France in 1861 and named by Elie Abel Carrière, head gardener at the Natural History Museum in Paris.
- Picea pungens*** — Colorado Spruce East Rocky Mountains USA.
cultivar;
- 'Glauca' — blue spruce
- Varieties are named selected seedlings from the bluest forms occurring within the natural populations in Colorado.
- 1863 ***Pinus aristata*** — Rocky Mountain Bristlecone Pine Eastern California, Arizona, New Mexico, Colorado.
- Once thought to be the oldest living trees in the world, but these are now considered to be: *P. longaeva* — Great Basin bristlecone pine — the higher mountains of south-west United States.
although this is sometimes considered to be a variety:
- . **var. *longaeva*** — intermountain bristlecone pine.
- 1864 ***Picea englemannii*** — Engelmann Spruce North-west America.
- 1962 **var. *mexicana*** — **Mexican spruce** Limited area of north-east Mexico.
Confusion about the taxonomy of this variety. Some authorities regard it as a subspecies and others as a true species.
- Cultivar; 1809 'Glauca'

- Pinus peuce*** — Macedonian Pine South-west Balkans, Bulgaria, and northern Greece.
Discovered in 1839 by August Heinrich Grisebach, professor of botany in Göttingen. Described in 1844 and brought into cultivation in 1863 by the Greek botanist Theodoros Orphanides.
- 1867 ***Abies × vilmorinii*** France.
Hybrid between *A. pinsapo* & *A. cephalonica*. Named in 1901.
- Pinus tabuliformis*** — Chinese Red Pine Northern China.
- 1868 ***Pinus heldreichii* var. *leucodermis*** — Bosnian Pine Balkans, lime rich soils in Italy, Bulgaria and Greece.
Closely related to Heldreich pine. Described in 1868 by Franz Antoine, director of the Imperial Gardens in Vienna.
- 1873 (1851?) ***Abies concolor*** — Colorado White Fir Southern California, Utah, and Colorado to Mexico.
Introduced into Europe by William Lobb.
- 1851 **var. *lowiana*** — Low's Fir
Cultivars:
1875 'Violaceae' (possibly same as 'Candicans')
1900 'Wattezii' Dutch
1929 'Candicans' France
- 1873 ***Podocarpus acutifolius*** — Acute-leaved Totara New Zealand
Named at this time.
- 1876 ***Pseudotsuga menziessii* var. *glauca*** — Blue Douglas Fir East Rocky Mountains, Montana to Mexico.
- 1877 ***Picea schrenkiana*** — Schrenk's Spruce Central Asia to China.
Described by Friedrich von Fischer and Carl von Meyer of St. Petersburg Botanic Garden in 1842.
- Picea glehnii*** — Sakhalin Spruce North Japan and Sakhalin Island.
- 1878 ***Abies sachalinensis*** — Sakhalin Fir Sakhalin and Kurile Islands, northern Japan
Picea spinulosa — Sikkim or East Himalayan Spruce Sikkim and Bhutan, Himalaya.
- 1879 ***Abies mariesii*** — Maries's Fir Central Japan.
Abies veitchii — Veitch's Silver Fir Japan.
Abies sachalinensis — Sakhalin Fir Sakhalin and Kurile Islands, northern Japan.
- Cedrus brevifolia*** — Cyprus Cedar Paphos Forest, Cyprus.
Considered to be a variety of cedar of Lebanon until it was described by Joseph Hooker in 1908.
- Picea jezoensis*** — Hondo Spruce Korea, Manchuria, and Japan
- 1879 ***Cupressus guadalupensis*** — Guadalupe Cypress Mexico.
var. *forbessii* — Tecate Cypress (reclassified from species to var. in 1970)

- 1880 ***Picea maximowiczii*** — Japanese Bush Spruce or Maximowicz Spruce Area around Mount Fujiyama in Honshu.
Named after Carl Johann Ivanovitch Maximowicz, curator of St. Petersburg Botanic Gardens.
- 1881 ***Larix occidentalis*** — Western Larch British Columbia, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana.
Brought into cultivation in 1880, taken to Kew, London, in 1881 by Charles Sprague Sargent from the Arnold Arboretum in the USA (see date 1826).
- 1882 ***Cupressus arizonica*** — Rough-barked Arizona Cypress Arizona to Mexico.
var. *stephensonii* — Cuyamaca Cypress
- 1883 ***Abies borisii-regis*** — King Boris's Fir Balkan Mountains.
Named after the King of Bulgaria.
- 1886 ***Tsuga caroliniana*** — Carolina Hemlock South Alleghany Mountains, USA.
- 1888 ***Cupressus x leylandii*** — Leyland Cypress Leighton Park, Welshpool (& in 1911).
Cultivars:
1888 'Haggerston Grey'
1911 'Leighton Green'
1911 'Naylor's Blue'
1962 'Castlewellan'
1976 'Silver Dust'
1977 'Golconda'
? 'Robinson's Gold'
- 1889 ***Picea omorika*** — Serbian Spruce Drina Valley (Yugoslavia).
This endangered species is confined to a small area in the Drina River valley in the Balkans.
It is a last remnant of flat needled spruce — common in Europe in pre-glacial times.
- 1890 ***Pinus leucodermis*** — Bosnian Pine Balkans.
- 1891 ***Pinus heldreichii*** — Heldreich Pine Balkans, northern Italy, and Greece.
Described in 1863, introduced in 1891.
- 1894 ***Cupressus funebris*** — Mourning Cypress China.
(taxonomic uncertainty)
- 1897 ***Picea brewerana*** — Brewer Spruce Oregon–California boundary on ridges at 1800 m in the Klamath and Siskiyou Mountains.
- Pinus armandii*** — Armand's Pine or Chinese White Pine West China, Burma, and south-east Tibet.
Species discovered by the French missionary Abbé Armand David in 1873, introduced by another French missionary Père Farges in 1895 (M & W).
- Larix x marschlinii* (*eurolepis*)** — Hybrid or Dunkeld (hybrid) Larch Scotland.
First arose in about 1897 at Dunkeld, Perthshire, noticed in 1904.

Intermediate between *L. kaempferi* × *decidua* in all characters — growth usually superior.

Confusion over origin and dates (see M&W p. 157). Described in 1919.

20th century

1900 *Tsuga chinensis* — Chinese Hemlock

Central and West China, mountains along the course of the Yangtse River.

Taxus x media — Hybrid Yew

USA

Cross between Japanese and common yew — first took place at the Hunnewell Pinetum, Massachusetts around 1900. Many of the resulting cultivars are so close that identification is only possible when detailed historical notes are available.

Cultivars:

'Hatfieldii'

'Skalborg'

'Hicksii'

'Sargentii'

'Kelsey' — Kelsey yew

1901 *Abies chengii* — Farges's Fir

West China, Hubei and Szechuan.

Described as late as 1987 by Keith Rushforth.

Picea brachytyla — Northern Sargent Spruce

West and central China.

var. *complanata* — Southern Sargent Spruce

West China.

Picea wilsonii — Wilson Spruce

Hubei, China

1903 *Abies fabri* — Faber Fir

West Sichuan.

Closely related to Forrest's silver fir and difficult to distinguish with any certainty.

Abies lasiocarpa **var. *arizonica*** — Corkbark Fir

Arizona and Colorado.

cultivar; 1979 'Compacta'

Holland.

1904 *Pinus x holfordiana* — Holford's Pine

Spontaneous hybrid found at Westonbirt.

Hybrid between Mexican white pine var. *veitchii* and blue pine.

Identified from the cones in 1933 by the Englishman, Albert Bruce Jackson, an authority on conifers.

Pinus nelsonii — Nelson pinyon Pine

North-east Mexico.

Juniperus deppeana — Alligator Juniper

South-west USA and Mexico

Described 64 years earlier.

Larix potaninii — Chinese Larch

South-west China (Sichuan and Gansu provinces) and adjoining parts of Tibet.

Discovered by Père David, French missionary, in 1884. Named in 1893, and introduced into cultivation in Germany in 1899.

- 1906 ***Picea montigena*** — Candelabra Spruce Western Sichuan.
More likely to be a variety of Likiang spruce. (AM 1910 a var.)
- Picea purpurea*** — Purple-cone Spruce
Once considered a variety of Likiang spruce.
- 1907 ***Cupressus glabra*** — Smooth Arizona Cypress Central Arizona.
Abies chensiensis — Chensien Fir South-west China.
? ***Abies delavayi*** — Delavay's silver Fir South-west China.
- 1908 ***Taxus celebica*** — Chinese yew China.
Abies nephrolepis — East Siberian Fir East Siberia, northern China.
Abies holophylla — Manchurian Fir Northern China, Manchuria; Korea.
Named in 1866.
- Abies nebrodensis*** — Sicilian Fir Northern Sicily.
Extinct in the wild.
- Picea obovata*** — Siberian Spruce European Russia to eastern Siberia.
Described by Carl von Ledebur in 1833 and brought into cultivation in 1852
- Tsuga yunnanensis*** — eastern Himalayan Hemlock
Now considered to be part of *T. chinensis*.
- 1909 ***Cupressus sargentii*** — Sargent Cypress Coastal mountain ranges of Mendocino, Colusa and Santa Barbara counties in California.
- 1910 ***Abies recurvata*** — Min Fir West Sichuan, China.
Abies squamata — flaky fir West Sichuan, China.
Abies forrestii — Forrest's Silver Fir North-west Yunnan, western China, south-east Tibet.
Picea asperata — Dragon Spruce West China.
Discovered in China in 1903, named by Maxwell Master in 1906 and brought into cultivation by Ernest Wilson in 1910.
- Picea likiangensis*** — Likiang Spruce (early 1900s) North-west Yunnan, south-west China.
Most of the trees in European collections are the 'Yunnan Form'. First collected by Ernest Wilson and Harry Smith in the early 1900s, since which time this group of similar trees has been the subject of taxonomic debate.
- Pseudotsuga macrocarpa*** — Large-coned Douglas Fir San Gabriel and San Bernardino Mountains, south-west California.
- Pseudotsuga japonica*** — Japanese Douglas Fir South-east Japan, the islands of Honshu and Shikoku.
All the Douglas firs probably originated in the same region of the world, but during its evolution, this species separated from the rest by drifting away on the western tectonic plate when the Pacific Ocean split Asia and America apart.

- Chamaecyparis formosensis*** — Formosan or Taiwan Cypress Formosa
- 1911 ***Abies fargessii*** — Sichuan Fir West Kansu, China.
Pinus taiwanensis — Taiwan Black Pine Sub-tropical valleys of Taiwan.
 Bunzo Hayata, Japanese botanist, who wrote the flora of Formosa (Taiwan) described this species.
- 1913 ***Abies koreana*** — Korean Fir Korea.
 Discovered and introduced in 1905 and finally named in 1920 (M&W).
- 1914 ***Picea koyamai*** — Koyama's Spruce Central Japan; Korea.
Picea balfouriana — Balfour Spruce Sichuan and eastern Tibet. Once a variety of Likiang spruce (AM). Seed first collected by Ernest Wilson. Described by him and Alfred Rehder in 1914.
- 1918 ***Abies delavayi*** — Delavay Fir (complex) China, West Yunnan
 Named 1899.
 Var. 1903 *fabri* West Sichuan (separate species in M&W)
 1911 *faxoniana* North-west Sichuan.
 (*forrestii*, see above date 1910)
 1923 *georgei*
- 1918(7) ***Thuja koraiensis*** — Korean Thuja Korea.
 Described in 1834.
- 1919 ***Glyptostrobus lineatus*** — Chinese Swamp Cypress Canton, South China.
Cupressus nevadensis — Plute Cypress Plute Mountains, Sierra Nevada
 (desert plant).
Tsuga x jeffreyi — Hybrid American Hemlock or Jeffrey's Hybrid Hemlock (see AM date 1851).
- 1920 ***Juniperus recurva* var. *coxii*** — Coffin Juniper North Burma.
- 1925 ***Abies x bornmuelleriana*** — Bornmueller Fir Turkey.
 Hybrid possibly between Caucasian fir and Greek fir. Doubt as to its true identity and taxonomy.
- 1931 ***Pinus x schwerinii*** Germany.
Pinus strobus x *Pinus wallichiana*. This artificial hybrid exhibits a range of intermediate characteristics. First raised by Count von Schwern in Berlin. Described and named in his honour by Jost Fischen, a schoolmaster from Hamburg.
- 1948 ***Metasequoia glyptostroboides*** — Dawn Redwood or Water Fir East Sichuan and north-east Hubei, China.
 Discovered in 1941, described in 1944, introduced in 1948.
- 1955 ***Picea x lutzii*** — Hybrid American Spruce First noticed in Alaska.
 A naturally occurring hybrid between white spruce and Sitka spruce.
- 1960 ***Pinus cooperi*** — Cooper Pine North-west Mexico.
- 1962 ***Abies vejari*** — Vejar Fir North-east Mexico.
Pinus durangensis — Durango Pine Limited areas of Mexico.

Described in 1942 but only brought into cultivation in 1962
 1994 ***Wollemia nobilis*** — Wollemi Pine New South Wales, Australia.
 Discovered in 1994 by David Noble in Wollemi National Park,
 Australia. Described as a living fossil — ancestors lived 200 million
 years ago.

Exotic conifer introductions — dates unknown

<i>Abies lasiocarpa</i> — Alpine Fir or Rocky Mountain Fir	South-east Alaska to New Mexico. Huge range, as a consequence of which sometimes designated as two varieties representing the north and south of its range.
<i>Abies nephrolepis</i> — East Siberian Fir	Manchuria and northern China.
<i>Araucaria heterophylla</i> — Norfolk Island Pine	Norfolk Island Pacific.
<i>Abies balsamica</i> — Balsam Fir	Eastern and central Canada extending into USA to Pennsylvania, Minnesota and parts of Iowa. Local pockets in Virginia and West Virginia.
<i>Araucaria bidwillii</i> — Bunya-bunya	Australia — Queensland.
<i>Glyptostrobus pensilis</i> — Chinese Swamp cypress	South-east China.
<i>Juniperus flacida</i> — Mexican Juniper	Mexico to Texas.
<i>Juniperus</i> × <i>media</i> — Hybrid Juniper	Garden origin.
	Hybrid between <i>Juniperus chinensis</i> — Chinese juniper and <i>Juniperus sabina</i> — Savin — a variable dwarf species.
1972 'Blue and Gold'	Dutch selection.
Several former cultivars are now classified as Chinese junipers.	
<i>Juniperus monosperma</i> — One-seed Juniper	South-east USA and Mexico.
<i>Juniperus scopulorum</i> — Rocky Mountain Juniper	
1949 'Skyrocket'	Dutch Origin — hardy substitute for Italian cypress.
<i>Pinus uncinata</i> — Mountain Pine	Pyrenees and Alps. (<i>P. mugo</i> is a spreading bush <i>P. uncinata</i> is the tree-form)
<i>Pinus densata</i> — Gaoshan Pine	Central China. Formerly classified as a variety of Chinese red pine. This group of Chinese pines are extremely difficult to tell apart out of context, particularly as they come from such a wide range of different environments.
<i>Pinus hwangshanensis</i>	China.

	A recently introduced tender pine — possibly a segregate population of Taiwan Black pine.	
<i>Pinus albicaulis</i> — Whitebark Pine		North America, Rocky Mountains from central British Columbia and Alberta through Wyoming to California.
<i>Pinus cembroides</i> — Mexican Pinyon Pine		Limited areas of Texas, Arizona and southwards into Mexico.
<i>Pinus monophylla</i> — Single-leaf Pinyon Pine		Great Basin region, Idaho, Utah southern California, and northern Mexico.
	Formerly classified as a variety of <i>P. cembroides</i> .	
<i>Pinus edulis</i> — Colorado Pinyon Pine		Utah, Arizona, Wyoming, and northern Mexico.
	Formerly classified as a variety of <i>P. cembroides</i> .	
<i>Pinus uncinata</i> — Mountain Pine		Native of European Alps and Spanish Mountains.
	var. <i>rotundata</i> — a natural shrubby form often confused with <i>P. mugo</i> .	
	<i>P. contorta</i> var. <i>latifolia</i> — AM similar species.	
<i>Pinus mugo</i> — Dwarf Mountain Pine		Alpine — central Europe.
	Numerous horticultural selections.	
	Confusion — previous name for <i>P. uncinata</i> (AM).	
<i>Pinus nigra</i> ssp. <i>salzmannii</i> — Pyrenean Pine		Southern France through the Pyrenees and into central and eastern Spain. Most western of black pine.
	Several ornamental cultivars have been developed — notably the dwarf 'Nana'.	
<i>Pinus greffii</i> — Gregg Pine		Mexico (cold upland areas).
<i>Pinus strobiformis</i> — South-western Pine		Texas, Arizona, and northern Mexico (upland areas).
<i>Pinus engelmannii</i> — Apache Pine		Rocky mountain sides southern Arizona (Apache country), New Mexico State, and northern Mexico.
<i>Pinus echinata</i> — Shortleaf Pine		An area from New York to Florida and west to Texas.
<i>P. echinata</i> x <i>rigida</i>		Cultivated origin?
	A recent hybrid that is potentially an important timber tree.	
<i>Pinus washoensis</i> — Washoe Pine		North-west Nevada and north-east California.
	Named as recently as 1945 after the Washoe Indians who shared its native habitat.	
<i>Podocarpus totara</i> — Totara		New Zealand.
<i>Podocarpus macrophyllus</i> — Large-leaved Podocarp		South-east Asia.
<i>Podocarpus nubigenus</i> — Chilean Podocarp		Chile — southwards to Patagonia.
<i>Taiwania cryptomeriodes</i>		Taiwan.

Taxus canadensis — Canadian Yew

North America

'variegata'

Taxus wallichiana — Himalayan Yew

Himalayas — Afghanistan to Sikkim

Very difficult to distinguish from common yew.

Native species and their cultivars — dates of introduction

Juniperus communis — (Common) Juniper

Cultivars: the world conifer database lists around 170 named types of common juniper

1768. f. *suecica* — Swedish juniper (or just 'Suecica')

1838 'Hibernica'

raised by Loddiges Nursery 1858?

'Oblong Pendula'

now seldom seen.

1908 'Pyramidalis'

raised by Hermann Hesse in Germany.

Pinus sylvestris — Scots Pine

Native to much of Europe and northern Asia, extending north almost to the Arctic circle and south to Spain and Turkey. Regional variations occur within this huge and widespread population.

1838 **var. *rigensisi***

Baltic coast

Described by John Loudon

1862 **var. *engadinensis***

Engadine Alps in Switzerland and the Tyrol

1888 **var. *lapponica***

Sweden

(technically a subspecies) Described by the Swedish botanist Robert Fries

1905 **var. *mongolica***

From the eastern limit of the species' range.

Described by the Russian botanist Dimitri Litvinov.

Cultivars:

1855 'Variegata'

France.

1856 'Fastigiata'

Nursery origin.

1876 'Aurea'

Nursery origin.

1990 'Argentea' (same as 'Inverleith' 1979)

Scotland.

Pinus sylvestris* ssp. *scotica

Scotland.

It was recognized that those trees growing in Scotland had different morphological characteristics from those growing in England, particularly in the south of the country. As a consequence, these Scottish trees have been classified as a subspecies.

Since 1978, considerable efforts have been made by the British Forestry Commission to ensure that trees for new planting are from authentic local sources. Approximately 12,000 hectares of the once-extensive 'Forest of Caledonia', a name used by the Roman historian Tacitus, remain intact.

Taxus baccata — Yew

cultivars: 'Lutea'

'Fastigiata Aurea'

'Aurea'

'Dovastonianana' — Westfelton yew

'Devostaniana Aurea'

'Adpressa'

'Adpressa Variegata'

'Rushmore'

'Pauliina'

'Aureovariegata'

'Semperaurea'

'Erecta'

'Summergold'

'Standishii'

'Aldenhamensis'

'Glaucua'

'Neidpathensis'

APPENDIX II

Changes in nomenclature for the more notable conifer species mentioned in the text

KEY: Under today's name:

1. Earliest/earlier/binomial name (often some uncertainty or confusion regarding this)
2. James Veitch & Sons, *A Manual of the Coniferae* (1881)
3. Veitch's *Manual of the Coniferae* (1900)
4. Thomas Mawson, *The Art and Craft of Garden Making* (1901)

Note: Mawson does not include authors' names and does not always include the binomial names.

Page references that appear next to the entries are for the names that are mentioned in the above texts.

Spellings are those that appear in the above texts.

Where known, the date for when a species was given a particular name follows after the author's name in (...).

Araucaria araucana (Molina) K. Koch — Monkey Puzzle, Chile Pine

1. Several earlier names, including *Pinus Araucaria* Molina; *Dombeya chilensis*, Lam. (1786).
See Veitch 1881 p. 190; and 1900, p. 298.
2. *Araucaria imbricata* Ruiz & Pavon — The Chile Pine, p. 191.
3. *Araucaria imbricata* Pavon (1795) — The Chile Pine, Monkey Puzzle, p. 298.
4. *Araucaria Imbricata* — monkey puzzle, p. 144.

ABIES — FIRS: Until 1900, there was considerable confusion regarding the classification of firs.

***Abies alba* Miller** — (Silver) Fir

1. Earlier names appear to have been muddled with the earlier names for *Picea abies* including *Pinus picea* L. (1753); *Pinus Abies* Duroi (1771). See Veitch 1900, p. 530. But note: the dates and authors' names are at odds with entries under *Picea* — See below, and compare with entries in Veitch 1900 on p. 433.
2. *Abies pectinata* De Candolle (1805) — The Common Silver Fir, p. 85.
3. *Abies pectinata* De Candolle — The Common Silver Fir, p. 530.
4. Mawson is confused regarding *Abies* and *Picea* species. He does not list Silver Firs under his sub-title: 'Abies, or Spruce Fir', p. 144, but instead under *Picea* — Silver Fir, p. 147, with no mention in either of this species.

Cedrus libani A. Richard — Cedar of Lebanon

1. Including: *Pinus cedrus* L. (1753); *Larix cedrus* Miller (1807)
Abies cedrus L.C. Richard (1826) Veitch 1900, p. 416.
2. *Cedrus Libani* Barrelière — The Cedar of Lebanon, p. 137.
3. *Cedrus Libani* Loudon (1838) — The Cedar of Lebanon, p. 416.
4. *Cedrus Libani* — the Cedar of Lebanon, p. 146.

CHAMAECYPARIS — FALSE CYPRESSES

Note: some authors today now classify *Chamaecyparis* species as being in the genus *Cupressus*

Chamaecyparis lawsoniana (Parlatore) — Lawson(s) Cypress

1. Including: *Cupressus Lawsoniana* Murray (1855)
Chamaecyparis Lawsoniana Parlatore — Lawson's Cypress (1868)
See Veitch 1900, for all the earlier names, p. 206.
2. *Cupressus Lawsoniana* Murray — Lawson's Cypress, p. 227.
3. *Cupressus Lawsoniana* Murray — Lawson's Cypress, p. 206.
4. *Cupressus* (Cypress) C. *Lawsoniana*, p. 146.

***Chamaecyparis pisifera* Sieb. & Zucc. — Sawara Cypress**

Considerable confusion over the nomenclature of this species:

1. Other names included (but not the earliest): *Chamaecyparis pisifera* Endl. (1847) *Thuya pisifera* (1881) — The Pea-fruited Retinospora. See Veitch 1900, p. 225.
2. *Retinospora pisifera* Sieb. & Zucc. (1842) — The Pea-fruited Retinospora, p. 242.
3. *Cupressus pisifera* Koch (1873) — Pea-fruited Retinospora or Japanese Cypress p. 224–225.
4. Mawson classifies most of these under Retinospora, p. 148.

C. *pisifera* 'Plumosa'

1. *Chamaecyparis pisifera plumosa* Beissner; *Retinospora plumosa* Gordon (1876) For earlier names see Veitch 1900, p. 227
2. *Retinospora plumosa* Hort. Veitch — The feathery Retinospora, p. 242.
3. *Cupressus pisifera* var. *plumosa*, p. 226.
4. *Retinospora plumosa*, p. 148.

C. *pisifera* 'Squarrosa'

1. *Chamaecyparis squarrosa* Parlatores, For earlier names see Veitch 1900, p. 227.
2. *Retinospora squarrosa* Siebold & Zuccarini, p. 242.
3. *Cupressus pisifera* var. *squarrosa*, p. 227.
4. *Retinospora squarrosa aurea*, Mawson only lists this golden variety, p. 148.

By 1900, the genus *Retinospora* had become redundant, with most members having been reclassified under the *Cupressus* genus.

***Juniperus communis* L. — Juniper**

1. *Juniperus communis* L. (1753) first and only binomial name. See Veitch 1900, p. 171.
2. *Juniperus communis* L. — Juniper.
3. *Juniperus communis* L. — Juniper.
4. Mentions several including 'common English Juniper' under just the generic name Juniperus. p. 147.

***Larix decidua* — European Larch**

1. *Pinus Larix* L. (1753); *Larix decidua* Miller (1768); *Abies Larix*, L.C. Richard (1826). Earlier names from Veitch 1900, p. 391.
2. *Larix Europaea* De Candolle — The Common Larch, p. 127.
3. *Larix Europaea* De Candolle — The Common Larch, p. 391.
4. Not listed.

PICEA — SPRUCES *Picea* species were known first under the generic name of *Pinus*, and then some were classified under *Abies*. In English, *Picea* species were frequently referred to as 'Spruce Firs'.

***Picea abies* Karsten — Norway Spruce**

1. Earlier names included: *Pinus abies* L. (1753); *Pinus picea* Duroi (1774) — The Spruce Fir. For additional names, see Veitch 1900, p. 433.
2. *Abies excelsa* De Candolle (1805) — The common or Norway Spruce, p. 69. At this time, Veitch classified all *Picea* species as *Abies*.
3. *Picea excelsa* Link — The common Spruce Fir, pp. 432–437.
4. *Picea* — Silver Fir
This species does not appear to have been listed by Mawson, or if it was it was under an incorrect name, p. 147.

PINUS — PINES

Originally, most conifer species were included under this genus, perhaps explaining why conifers continue to be referred to as pines. Examples as above.

Pinus sylvestris L. — Scots Pine

1. No earlier names. cont./
2. *Pinus sylvestris* L — The Scotch or Wild Pine.
3. *Pinus sylvestris* L — The Scotch or Wild Pine.
4. *P. sylvestris* — Scotch Fir.

Pseudotsuga menziesii Franco — Douglas Fir

1. *Pinus taxifolia* Lamb. (1803).
2. *Abies Douglasii* Lindl. (1833) — The Douglas Fir, p. 113.
3. *Abietia Douglasii* Kent — Douglas Fir, p. 478.
4. *Abies Douglassi* — Douglas Spruce, p. 144.

Taxus baccata L. Yew

1. *Taxus baccata* L. (1753) No other names.
2. *Taxus baccata* L — English Yew.
3. *Taxus baccata* L.
4. Several yews mentioned under '*Taxus*' including 'common yew'. p. 148.

Thuja plicata D. Don — Western Red-cedar

1. *Thuja Lobbii* Hort. — Lobb's Arbor Vitae, p. 255.
2. *Thuja gigantea* Nuttall — Lobb's Arbor Vitae, p. 255.
3. *Thuja gigantea* Nuttall — Lobb's Arbor Vitae, p. 239.
By this time it was realised that *Thuja plicata* — The Siberian Arbor Vitae and *T. gigantea* were synonymous. See p. 239.
4. *Thuya Lobbii* (and also incorrectly mentions *T. gigantea* as a separate species), p. 149.

Sequoiadendron giganteum Buchholz — Wellingtonia

1. *Sequoia gigantea* Torrey (1854), an earlier name but after the one below: p. 199.
2. *Wellingtonia gigantea* Lindley (1853) — The Mammoth Tree, p. 199.
3. *Sequoia Wellingtonia* Seeman (1855) — Wellingtonia or The Mammoth Tree, p. 275.
4. *Wellingtonia gigantea* — 'Sequoia or giant tree of California', p. 149.

APPENDIX III

Locations of properties in the Lake District mentioned in the text

Ordnance Survey Landranger Map: 97 Kendal and Morecambe (Windermere and Lancaster)

Place	Map Reference
Belsfield (Hotel)	SD 403968
Bowness Town Centre	SD 403969
Cook's Corner	SD 406993
Fallbarrow Hall	SD 402972
Lindeth Fell	SD 403954
Lindeth Howe	SD 401953
Priory Manor Estate	SD 405993
Rayrigg Hall	SD 402991
Storrs Estate (Hotel)	SD 392942
Public Garden adjacent to Windermere Library (formerly the garden of Ellerthwaite)	SD 412984

Ordnance Survey Landranger Map 90: Penrith & Keswick

Place	Map Reference
Brierly Wood (formerly Holbeck Cottage)	NY 388015
Brockhole Visitor Centre	NY 390009
Cragwood House (Hotel)	NY 390006
Langdale Chase (Hotel)	NY 386018
Merewood (Hotel)	NY 391029
Rydal Hall	NY 365062
Rydal Mount	NY 364063
Skelghyll Woods	NY 381029

CASE-STUDY APPENDICES

I. Langdale Chase

1. Chronology of the history of the property

- William Wordsworth (1770–1850) described the area of Low Wood as 'the loveliest spot that man hath ever found' and a charming retreat for rest and recreation (Langdale Chase hotel booklet, no reference given).
- Mr George Howarth, a businessman from Manchester, bought the eleven-acre site (a woodland referred to on the Ordnance Survey Map 1860, 1st edition, as Bowns Wood), with the intention of building a holiday retreat.
- In January 1889, a local firm of builders, Pattinsons, run by George Henry Pattinson, drew up a plan for a 'Proposed House near Low Wood, Windermere for George Howarth Esq.'
- George Howarth died shortly afterwards.
- His widow, Mrs Edna Howarth, decided to live in the Lake District permanently and therefore required a larger home, making the first plans unsuitable.
- On 28 May 1890, the architects Joseph Pattinson and Ball and Elce drew up new plans for the house, which also included details of the terraces — including the ball finials and bastions. (Ball and Elce were a Manchester-based firm of architects with an office in Penrith.)
- On 3 December 1890, the 'Plan of Garden and Grounds' was drawn up by Joseph Pattinson and Ball & Elce (not undertaken in their entirety, but elements are still present in the garden up to 2017).
- The builder George Grissenthwaite (not Pattinsons) was employed to build the property, which took five years and cost approximately £32,000.
- Mrs Howarth renamed the property Langdale Chase.
- In 1892, a tender for stable buildings and plans for a boathouse were submitted.
- In 1894, Mrs Howarth commissioned Thomas Mawson (1861–1933) to design (re-design?) the gardens.
- According to information given to the hotel in the 1980s by the granddaughter of the head gardener of the time, Mr Howell Harrison (who lived in the lodge), it was her grandfather who oversaw all the tree and shrub plantings (which included many conifers and rhododendrons) as recommended by Mawson.
- Mrs Howarth lived in the property from 1894 to 1914, together with a staff of sixteen, eight indoor servants, and eight outdoor staff caring for the gardens, horses and carriages, and boats.
 - During her occupation, garden parties, tennis, and croquet tournaments were all held at the property, together with an annual Chrysanthemum display, where hundreds of these plants were displayed in the garden's greenhouses.
- In 1914, Mrs Howarth died, and the property was bought by Mr and Mrs Willows from Scarborough.
 - The sales particulars of July 1914 give details of the property and the extent of the grounds. They also contain very informative photographs of the type of plantings in the garden, particularly those depicting conifers.
- Mr Willow died, and Mrs Willows continued to live in the property until her death in 1929.
- The property was auctioned but did not sell.

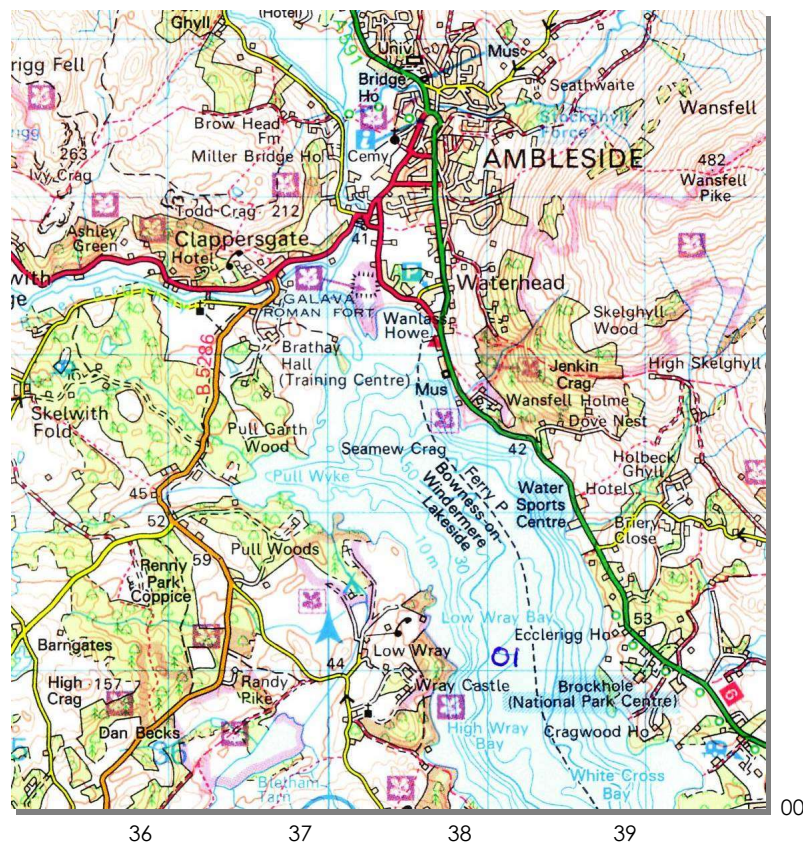
- Three weeks after the auction, Miss Dorothy Dalzell, her mother, and her aunt bought the property and turned it into a hotel.
 - Various alterations and extensions were undertaken to enable the property to function as a country-house hotel (dining room, kitchen, and additional bedrooms).
- The hotel opened in Easter 1930.
- In February 1974, Miss Dalzell sold the property to Mr Norman Buckley, a Manchester solicitor who already owned three Lakeland hotels.
 - Further alterations and a conservatory were erected on the south facade.
- After his death, Mrs Betty Buckley continued to run the hotel until her death in 1981.
- The property was bought by the Schaefer and Noble families.
 - Under their ownership, trees, including conifers, were planted to replace many that had been blown down in gales or died from disease.
- In 2017, the property was sold to Daniel Thwaites PLC, under whose ownership it remains today.
- The 'landscape architect' and 'horticultural expert' Colin Crosbie employed to undertake a redevelopment of the gardens.⁷⁰²
- In spring 2018, extensive felling of trees and removal of mature rhododendrons and other shrubs were carried out by Will Hicks tree surgeons.
- Replanting to be undertaken, and a car park area to be created in the area to the north of the house, but not confirmed by Thwaites.

⁷⁰² Letter from Chris Hill, Operation Director for Thwaites' hotels. 12.04.18

2. Ordnance Survey maps



A. Bowns Wood — Ordnance Survey Map 1858, contoured edition (c. 1860) (detail)
Properties in the area with noticeable gardens at this time were: Low Wood Hotel, Briery Close, Holbeck House, and Holbeck Cottage. The neighbouring properties of Merewood House, Brockhole, Cringlemire, and Cragwood had not yet been built.



B. ©OS Landranger Map 90 Penrith & Keswick (2009) Revised 1996–97.
Langdale Chase (Bowns Wood) is not named on the OS map but is here marked pink. Reference NY386016. Neighbouring properties are now marked on the map, with the exceptions of Merewood House and Cringlemire.

3. Gymnosperms — conifers recorded in 2016

Verification of many of the species was to be undertaken in 2018, but this was not possible, owing to the extensive clearances that were taking place.

N A M E Latin/common

Native or date introduced into Britain

PINACEAE — Pine family

ABIES Mill. — Firs

A. procera — Noble Fir

Washington & Oregon 1830.

A. amabilis — Beautiful or Red Fir

British Columbia to Oregon 1830 tbc.

PSEUDOTSUGA Carrière — Douglas firs

Pseudotsuga menziesii — Douglas Fir

North British Columbia to north California & Rocky Mountains to Mexico 1827.

TSUGA (Antoine) Carrière — Hemlock-spruces

T. canadensis — Eastern Hemlock-spruce

East and central North America 1736 (tbc).

PICEA A. Dietr. — Spruces

P. abies — Norway Spruce

Europe from Alps to Scandinavia & Balkans to Russia. Before 1500.

P. orientalis — Oriental Spruce

Caucasus and north-east Asia Minor 1839.

P. sitchensis — Sitka Spruce

Kodiak Island in Alaska to Caspar in Mendocino County

California 1831.

LARIX Mill. — Larches

None Recorded?

CEDRUS Trew — Cedars

C. deodara — Deodar

Afghanistan to W. Himalayas 1831.

C. libania — Cedar of Lebanon

Mt. Lebanon, Syria; S.E. Turkey 1638.

C. atlantica 'Glaucua' — Atlas Cedar 'Glaucua'

Atlas Mountains in Algeria & Morocco 1841.

PINUS L. — Pines

P. sylvestris — Scots Pine?

Native pine (the only native pine in Britain).

P. nigra (ssp. *nigra*?) — Austrian Pine

Austria, central Italy, Balkans 1835.

P. wallichiana — Blue (Bhutan) Pine

Afghanistan to Nepal 1823.

ARAUCARIACEAE — monkey puzzle family

ARAUCARIA Juss. — Monkey Puzzle

A. araucana — Monkey Puzzle

Chile, W. Argentina 1795 (felled 2018).

TAXACEAE — yew family

TAXUS L. — Yews

T. baccata — Yew

Native (Europe, Atlas Mts. Asia Minor to Persia).

'Fastigiata' — Irish Yew

C. Fermanagh 1780.

'Fastigiata Aurea' — Golden Irish yew

SCIADOPITACEAE (Taxodiaceae)

SCIADOPITYS — Japanese Umbrella Pine

S. verticillata — Japanese Umbrella Pine

Japan 1853(d.)1861.

CUPRESSACEAE — juniper family

(Now includes members formerly in the Taxodiaceae Family)

SEQUOIA Endl. Coast(al) Redwood

S. sempervirens — Coast(al) Redwood

Narrow belt by coast from just in Oregon to south of Monterey, California. 1843 via Russia.

SEQUIADENDRON Buchholz — Wellingtonia

None recorded but present in the past.

CRYPTOMERIA D. Don — Japanese Red Cedar

None recorded.

CUPRESSUS L. — (true) Cypresses

C. macrocarpa 'Goldcrest'— Monterey Cypress

× CUPROCYPARIS Farjon — Leyland Cypress

None recorded.

XANTHOCYPARIS Farjon & Hiep — Cypresses

× *nootkatensis* — Nootka Cypress?

None recorded.

Alaska, to N. Oregon 1854.

CHAMAECYPARIS Spach — (false) cypresses

C. lawsoniana — Lawson's cypress

W. United States (Klamath and Siskiyou Mts. N.W. California & S.W. Oregon 1854 (several felled 2018).
Tooting c. 1870.

'Lutea' tbc.

various other cultivars (but not confirmed)

C. pisifera — Sawara cypress

Japan 1861.

'Plumosa'

Japan 1861 (several felled 2018).

'Squarrosa'

Japan via Java 1843 (several felled 2018).

'Filifera'

Japan 1861.

THUJA — red cedars

T. plicata — Western Red-cedar

Alaska to California east to Idaho 1853 (several felled 2018).

THUJOPSIS — Hiba

T. dolobrata — Hiba (False Arbor Vitae)

Japan 1853 (died) 1859, 1861
(felled 2018).

'Variegata'

FITZROYA — Fitzroya

None recorded.

CALOCEDRUS — Northern Incense Cedar

None recorded.

TAXODIUM — Swamp Cypresses

None recorded.

METASEQUOIA — Dawn Redwood

None recorded.

ARTHROTAXUS — Tasmanian Cedars

None recorded.

JUNIPERUS — Junipers

J. scopulorum 'Skyrocket' — juniper cv.

Type native — species.

Ginkgo?

II. Fallbarrow Hall

1. Chronology

Fallbarrow Hall, Rayrigg Road, Bowness-on Windermere, Cumbria LA23 3DX

OS reference: SD 402 972

Very little archival material to compile this — most information gleaned from Ordnance Survey maps, old black and white photographs, and what remains of the hard and soft landscaping of the garden and parkland.

- Old Fallbarrow Hall — built in the Elizabethan era, nothing ascertained on the history of this hall.
 - Not of sufficient note to be included in early guides of the area, such as Thomas West's (all editions) or Wordsworth's (all editions).
 - On the first Ordnance Survey Map of 1858, and subsequent editions.
- New Fallbarrow Hall built around the 1880s — possibly by the architect Joseph Stretch Crowther.
 - Property depicted on the revised edition of the OS map of 1889.
 - Garden and park created around the same time (clearly shown on the OS map).
 - First owners of the property uncertain but in the Census of 1881, Daniel Wichelhaus and his wife are listed as being resident in the property, along with their three daughters, five sons, and four servants.
- Parkdean Resorts Ltd purchased the property around the 1980s and the parkland.
(Head Office: 2nd Floor, Gosforth Parkway, Gosforth Business Park, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, NE12 8ET).
 - The parkland became a holiday resort with static cabins and log cabins and supporting paraphernalia (cafe, shop, offices).
 - The hall is let to Dove Nest Group around the 1990s.
 - In 2016/17, more log cabins were constructed in and around the front garden of the hall.
- Other than a few trees and some landscaping, little remains of the original garden or parkland.

2. Conifers recorded in the Fallbarrow Holiday Park — May 2018 (formerly the garden and parkland of Fallbarrow Hall)

Where access to a particular conifer, or its features, has been unavailable, it is listed as 'not identified'.

A. In the area on the easterly boundary (marked W1 on the TPO map) adjacent to Fallbarrow Road:

Larix decidua — European Larch

Pinus nigra, ssp. *laricio* — Corsican Pine

Taxus baccata — Yew

Sequoia sempervirens — Coast(al) Redwood

Chamaecyparis lawsoniana — Lawson Cypress

B. Around the entrance and reception area:

Chamaecyparis lawsoniana — Lawson Cypress x 2

Sequoiadendron giganteum — Wellingtonia (dying)
C. atlantica 'Glaucua' (dying) — Atlas Cedar
Pinus wallichiana — Blue (Bhutan) Pine (beside TT10) (dying)

C. Taking the drive first left off the roundabout:

Pinus nigra ssp. *laricio* (between G11 and G12)
Sequoiadendron giganteum — (near G11)
Picea species (not identified)

D. In the grounds of Old Fallbarrow Hall (beside the periphery fence)

Taxus baccata
Chamaecyparis lawsoniana

E. Taking the drive second left off the roundabout

Tsuga canadensis — Eastern Hemlock-spruce (beside RW4)
Picea abies — Norway Spruce (between RW3 and RW4)
Cedrus atlantica 'Glaucua' (RW4)
Sequoiadendron giganteum (immature specimen) (RW1)
Cryptomeria japonica — Japanese Red Cedar, *Tsuga canadensis* (immature specimens)
(before BH14)
Sequoia sempervirens (RW1) (wooden decking all around this tree)
Sequoia sempervirens (RW2)
Sequoia sempervirens (between RW6 and RW5) (roots lifting the tarmac)
Sequoia sempervirens (RW7) (wooden decking all around this tree)

F. Lakeside

Cedrus atlantica 'Glaucua' (in the open area behind LS21)
Abies species on the bank behind LS18 (not identified)
Abies species (in area owned by Dove Nest Group) (not identified)
Pseudotsuga menziesii — Douglas Fir × 2 (immature) (near LS11)
Sequoia sempervirens (opposite LS16)
Picea sitchensis — Sitka Spruce (opposite LS14)
Abies species (not identified) (opposite LS14)

G. Hall garden

Sequoiadendron giganteum (×4)
? *Abies grandis* — Giant (Grand) fir (T37)

H. Beside the drives behind the hall

Picea abies (between F34 and F35)
Chamaecyparis lawsoniana (between 33 and 34)
Pinus wallichiana (behind FT04)
Picea species (beside F18) (not identified)
Sequoiadendron giganteum (beside FT03 on the corner)

Chamaecyparis lawsoniana (beside F37)
Abies species (beside F38) (aerial attached to trunk)
(two *Fagus sylvatica* 'Purpurea' — Copper Beech (next to L41 and F41)
Chamaecyparis lawsoniana (F2)
Pinus wallichiana (L34) dying
Cryptomeria japonica (F42)
Chamaecyparis lawsoniana (next to F1 beside driveway into the Hall's car park)
Abies species (beside S1) (not identified)
Sequoiadendron giganteum (between F8 and F10)
S. giganteum (behind F10)
Thuja plicata — Western Red-cedar (behind F11)
Picea smithiana — Morinda Spruce (beside FT05)
Larix decidua (between F16 and F16)
Chamaecyparis lawsoniana (beside B80)
Cedrus atlantica 'Glaucua' (behind A9 and A8)
C. atlantica 'Glaucua' (next to F32)
Larix decidua (next to A5)
Chamaecyparis lawsoniana (next to A2)

c. 20 different species.

III. Storrs Estate

Storrs Hall — chronology 1100–1914

- Area named after Norman settlers.
- Became part of the estate of Furness Abbey (founded 1123) with the land being predominantly used for the grazing of sheep. Remained under this Abbey's ownership for several hundred years until the Dissolution of the Monasteries, with this Abbey being destroyed in 1537.
- 1791: first evidence for a property being built: by Sir John Legard (completed 1797), with a boathouse and the Temple of Heroes also being constructed.⁷⁰³
- 1804: hall and estate sold to David Pike Watts (uncle of the painter John Constable).
- 1806: hall and estate sold to John Bolton (1756–1837) who altered and extended the hall to a design by Joseph Michael Gandy (1771–1843).⁷⁰⁴ Gardens also landscaped.
- 1837: Bolton died, and his widow remained in the property until her death in 1848.
- Property bequeathed to her nephew, the Reverend Thomas Staniforth.
- 1879: Lindeth Howe built as a holiday home for a wealthy mill owner. Included with the property were 28 acres. Property rented out to friends of the owner including Beatrix Potter's parents.
- 1887: Staniforth died, and owing to a complicated inheritance, the Storrs Estate was sold at auction in various lots on 10 March 1890.
- A local builder, George Henry Pattinson,⁷⁰⁵ bought the bulk of the estate comprising approximately 700 acres of farmland (which included Home Farm), woodland, and rough pasture. Pattinsons did not want the hall, even though it was originally offered to him *pro gratis*. Pattinsons then proceeded to split the land that had been purchased into various plots to accommodate the construction of a house, often with a lodge, and usually a substantial garden. On an OS map of 1909, these plots may correspond to the rateable value areas delineated in red ⁷⁰⁶ (figure 4).
- Pattinson's brother, Joseph, designed and built many of the properties including Lindeth Fell (c. 1904) (unknown purchaser), Fayrer Holme (1904) for J. J. Clarke Esq., and Meadowcroft (1908) for John and Beatrice Kennedy (all included on the OS map of 1913). Whilst Pattinson was able to purchase the land, not all the terrain he wished to build upon was very suitable for this purpose. The flattest area was closest to the lake, whilst the rest sloped away from the lake to the east with varying degrees of steepness. To the east of the top road, underlying rock close to the surface made levelling the land particularly difficult, often necessitating the use of dynamite before a drive or a level area for recreational purposes, such as a tennis court, could be created. Lindeth Fell and Fayrer Holme are examples of properties being created in this area.
- Benjamin Townson purchased the hall and 17 acres. Under his ownership, extensive alterations and additions were carried out to enable the property to function as a hotel (which it remains today).
- Around 1900, The Yews (Storrs Tenements) was sold by Pattinson to Sir Samuel Scott, together with land of an unknown acreage.
- Probably to facilitate access to all the new and potential properties (at this time still horse and carriage but with cars having been introduced), the A592 was constructed c. 1900.

⁷⁰³ I. Goodall 'Storrs Hall, Windermere', *The Georgian Group Journal*, XV (2006).

⁷⁰⁴ See Brian Lukacher, *Joseph Gandy: An Architectural Visionary in Georgian England* (London: 2006).

⁷⁰⁵ For a history of this family firm of builders, see George H. Pattinson, *Pattinsons: Builders, of Windermere 1573–1973* (Liverpool: 1973).

⁷⁰⁶ This map is also held by CASK.

- In the 1920s and 1930s, Storrs Hall was known as the Grand Hotel.
- 1943: property bought by North British Trust Hotels.
- 1997: purchased by Les Hindle, a Lancashire businessman, and remains under his ownership today.⁷⁰⁷

Lindeth Howe — chronology⁷⁰⁸

- Originally the land was part of the Storrs Estate.
- House built in 1879 as a holiday home for a wealthy mill owner.
- Garden created at this time — not known by whom, as there is no archival material on this.
- Around 1900, the property was bought by Bruce Canon Vernon Wentworth (a retired Captain of the Grenadier Guards) of Wentworth Castle, near Barnsley, who rented the property to friends for their holidays, including the Potter family.
- A 1909 OS map depicts the house, garden, and land at this time.
- Photographs taken of the house and garden by Rupert Potter (Beatrix Potter's father) for the years 1902–13, during the Potter's holiday vacations.
- In 1915, after the death of her father, Beatrix Potter (who was living in Near Sawrey) bought the property for her mother, so that she was able to visit her on a regular basis.
- In 1933, after Beatrix Potter's mother died, the property was sold to Mr and Mrs Doxford.
- Property sold again in 1949 and converted into two houses and a flat.
- In 1972, the Postlewaite family bought the house and started a bed and breakfast business. During their ownership, various plots of land were sold out of the estate, and a few other private houses were built, all sharing the same driveway to the main property.
- In 1978, bought by the Baxter family who converted the property into a small country house hotel.
- In 1998, purchased by Norman Stoller and Stephen Broughton, under whose ownership it remains today under the name: 'Lindeth Howe, Country House Hotel and Restaurant'.

Lindeth Fell — chronology

- The land upon which Lindeth Fell was built was part of Storrs estate until 1890, when the land was bought by the builders, Pattinsons.
- Property built in 1909 to a design by Joseph Pattinson, which also included a lodge (for the chauffeur).
- Originally, the house was named Tremlo, but sometime before 1913, the name was changed to Lindeth Fell.
- The area was landscaped and gardens created to a design typical of those by Thomas Mawson,

⁷⁰⁷ Storrs Hall is Grade II listed: Historic England: List Entry Number 1332564.

⁷⁰⁸ For this Chronology, some use was made of the hotel's information on the property.

around the same time as the house was constructed.⁷⁰⁹

- Not sold but rented instead to a Mr and Mrs Colin Lings (together with their seven servants) around 1910.⁷¹⁰ At this time, the property amounted to: the house, chauffeur's lodge (possibly also a garage, which for earlier properties would have been stables), extensive gardens, and grassland, in total amounting to thirty acres.⁷¹¹
- After World War I, the property was sold by Pattinsons to Colonel Walker.
- By 1929, the property had had a new owner, Mr Forwards, who, from phone book entries, was still in occupation of the property in 1963.
- The property was then sold to Mr Pilling — date unknown.
- Date again unknown — the property was sold to Sir Samuel Scott of The Yews.
- The house remained empty for two years, after which it was sold to Mr D. Ashton, a hotelier from Blackpool, who converted it into a small hotel.
- On the sale to Mr Ashton, the lodge and most of the grassland, totalling around thirty-three areas, were retained by Sir Samuel. Much of this land is still owned by the Scott family, including around Lindeth Fell.
- In June 1984, the property was bought by the Kennedy family, who continued to run it as a hotel until 2015, when it became a five-star bed-and-breakfast establishment, which it remains to the present time.

The mature conifer species that are present in the garden of Lindeth Fell today (2017)

RH — right-hand side, LH — left-hand side

A. Entrance and along the drive

1. *Chamaecyparis pisifera* 'Plumosa', one either side of the entrance
2. *C. pisifera* 'Squarrosa', on the right-hand side of the drive to the lodge
3. *Thujaopsis dolobrata*, single specimen. LH.
4. *Chamaecyparis pisifera* 'Filifera', a pair either side of the drive.
5. *C. lawsoniana*, narrow form. RH.
6. *Cryptomeria japonica*, crown uneven owing to closeness to previous species. RH.
7. *Chamaecyparis pisifera* 'Filiformis Aurea', pair beside the wall near the croquet lawn
8. *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana*, single specimen split into two. Beside The Tarn. RH.
9. *Thuja plicata* single specimen. Originally part of a group (see aerial photograph). RH.

B. Part of the plantation on the steep bank to the east of the property (this area is no longer part of Lindeth Fell, being under separate ownership)

10. *Tsuga* sp. single specimen
11. *Picea abies*, several
12. *Pinus sylvestris*, several
13. *Larix europaea*, several

⁷⁰⁹ There is no archival evidence for the garden having been designed by Mawson.

⁷¹⁰ All the household are listed on the 1911 census.

⁷¹¹ All the deeds to this property have been lost, so there is a certain amount of uncertainty regarding all the facts relating to this property. Information has been gleaned from a variety of sources, primarily from the Kennedy family's archival material.

C. At the northerly end of the top terrace and into the woodland

14. *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* × 2

15. *C. lawsoniana* 'Aurea' × 2

16. *Thuja plicata* × 2

D. Rose-garden area

17. *Taxus baccata* 'Fastigiata'

18. *Taxus baccata* 'Fastigiata Aurea' × 2

(two other *Taxus baccata* 'Fastigiata', either side of the steps onto the tennis area, in aerial photograph, but since felled)

E. Bottom of the lawned area

19. *Cupressus macrocarpa* 'Goldcrest' × 2 (planted more recently)

20. *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* 'grey one'

21. *C. lawsoniana* 'Plumosa' either side of a *C. pisifera* 'Squarrosa'

22. *C. pisifera* 'Squarrosa'

F. In the adjacent field once belonging to the property

23. *Chamaecyparis lawsoniana* — several in a row